TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society

FOR

1900.

NOTE BY THE EDITOR.

The Editor desires to acknowledge his obligation to the Committee of the Clifton Antiquarian Club for permission to publish the Bristol Archæological Notes for 1900, the Papers on the Brislington Villa, the Roman Road on Durdham Down, Clifton in 1746, and the Bronze Figure from Aust, simultaneously with their publication in the Proceedings of the Club.

He would also venture to commend the Bristol Archæological Notes to the attention of Local Secretaries, as showing the kind of return which might most usefully be made year by year from the various divisions of the District within which the Society works.

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Bristol and Gloucestershire

Archæological Society

FOR

1900.

Edited by Rev. C. S. TAYLOR, M.A.

VOL. XXIII.

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The Council of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society desires that it should be distinctly understood that the Council is not responsible for any statement made, or opinions expressed, in the Transactions of the Society. The Authors are alone responsible for their several Papers and Communications, and the Editor, Rev. C. S. Taylor, M.A., Banwell Vicarage, Somerset, for the Notices of Books.

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Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society.

PROCEEDINGS

At the Annual Spring Meeting,

At Toddington, Hayles Abbey, Stanton, and Stanway,

Thursday, June 7th, 1900.

At the Spring Meeting of the Society excursions were made to Toddington, Hayles Abbey, Stanton, and Stanway. Members travelled either to Cheltenham or to Ashchurch, and thence in breaks to the rendezvous at Toddington. The somewhat threatening aspect of the sky, which gave early promise of frequent showers, did not prevent a satisfactory attendance of members from all parts of the county. Amongst those present were Mr. Gardner S. Bazley (President), Mr. F. F. Fox (President-elect), Sir Brook Kay (President of the Council), Mr. G. M. Currie (Treasurer), the Rev. W. Bazeley (General Secretary), the Rev. W. T. Alston, the Rev. W. B. Atherton, Mr. St. Clair Baddeley, Mrs. Baddeley, Mr. J. Baker, Mr. A. E. Barnsley, Mr. and Mrs. W. E. Baxter, Mrs. and Miss A. Bazeley, Miss Berkeley, Miss Brown, Mr. and Mrs. H. T. Bruton, Mr. H. W. Bruton, Mrs. Robert Child, Mr. G. H. D. and Miss M. Chilton, Dr. and Mrs. O. Clark, Mr. A. Cockshott, Miss Crawfurd, Mr. F. J. Cullis, Mrs. Currie, the Rev. W. H. S. Davies, Mr. R. Dimsdale, Mr. R. W. Dugdale, Colonel Duke, Mr. F. Dyer Edwards, Mrs. E. and Miss L. Flower, Miss Forster, Mr. and

Mrs. R. G. FOSTER, Mr. F. F. FOX, Mr. C. E. GAEL, Miss M. M. GODFREY, Mrs. GOLDING, the Rev. J. M. HALL, Miss HALSEY, Mr. E. HARFORD, Mr. A. A. HUNTER, Mrs. JEBB, the Rev. Mr. and Mrs. A. C. JENNINGS, Miss JOHNSTONE, Surgeon-General and Mrs. LANDALE, Mr. A. LE BLANC, Mr. E. C. LITTLE, Mr. E. P. LITTLE, Major-General JOHN MACDONALD, Mr. WILLIAM and Miss M. A. MARGETSON, Mr. J. A. MATTHEWS, Mr. A. C. and Miss MAY, the Rev. T. M. MIDDLEMORE-WHITHARD, Mrs. MILES, Mr. and Mrs. R. G. MORRIS, Miss MORTIMER, Lieutenant-Colonel and Mrs. W. H. NEWTON, Mrs. OMAN, Mrs. L. and Miss PERCIVAL, Mr. V. R. PERKINS, the Rev. W. A. PIPPET, the Rev. Mr. and Mrs. D. L. PITCAIRN, Mr. and Mrs. A. J. PLAYNE, Mr. JOHN E. PRITCHARD, Mr. HENRY PROTHERO, Surgeon-General RINGER, Miss Ross, the Rev. T. W. and Miss SALE, Mrs. and Miss SALWEY, Mr. and Mrs. C. SCEARS, Canon SCOBEL, Mr. and Mrs. HERBERT SESSIONS, Mr. and Mrs. E. C. SEWELL, Mr. T. W. SHORE, Mr. H. S. K. SKIPTON, Miss SLOCOCK, Mr. A. E. and Miss M. P. SMITH, Mr. T. S. SMITH, Mrs. STABLES, Mr. C. H. STANTON, the Rev. W. D. STANTON, Mr. WALTER J. STANTON, Mr. S. H. SWAYNE, Mr. STEWART, Mr. and Mrs. F. J. TARR, the Rev. C. S. TAYLOR, Mr. J. TIBBITS, Mr. G. TROWER, Mr. and Mrs. F. F. TUCKETT, Mr. R. L. G. VASSALL, Miss WEDGWOOD, Miss WELCH, Mr. F. WERE, Mrs. WHITFIELD, Mr. O. J. WILLIAMS, and Mr. E. N. WITCHELL.

The historical and architectural notes on the places visited, which had been prepared by the General Secretary, the Rev. W. BAZELEY, of Gloucester, proved a helpful guide to the visitors.

At Toddington the company first inspected the ruins of the old house which was built at the close of the 17th century by the fourth Viscount Tracy, and which up to a time within the memory of persons still living has stood intact near the western end of the present Church. The Rev. W. BAZELEY described the features of the relics and

what was known of the circumstances of the erection of the house.

Toddington is in the hundred of Kiftsgate. The brook, Isbourne, flows through it from Winchcombe on its way to join the Avon at Evesham. For eight hundred and fifty years Toddington has belonged to the Tracys and their progenitors, the De Sudeleys; and for most of that period the Tracys have made it their home. Ralph, Earl of Herefordshire, son of Drogo, Count of the Vexin and Amiens, and of his wife Goda, daughter

From Atkyns' Gloucestershire.

of King Ethelred and sister of the Confessor, held Sudeley and Toddington just before the Norman Conquest. Harold, son of Ralph, held it in 1066. From the marriage of his son, John de Sudeley, with Grace de Traci. sprang the two families of Sudeley and Tracy, the latter of which held Toddington from the time of Henry II. Their surname is derived from a village in Normandy, not far from Caen. A Tracy of Toddington is said to have been one of the murderers of Thomas à Becket, and another was himself an unconscious martyr, being dug up after his burial and burnt as a heretic because of a clause in his will which was objected to by Thomas Parker, Chancellor of the diocese, in the time of Henry VIII. For this absurd act of bigotry Parker was dismissed and fined £400.

The Tracys, like most of their contemporaries, took part in the dissolution of the monasteries and shared the spoil. They obtained the manor of Hayles in the time of Charles I., and dwelt for more than half a century in the Abbots' Lodging to the west of the cloisters of Hayles Abbey. John, third Viscount Tracy, died there in 1686 The next viscount built for himself a charming house at Toddington, the ruins only of which remain, though it has been intact within the memory of some living. A view of this house and the little church adjoining, as they appeared to Kip at the beginning of the eighteenth century, had been reproduced for the programme from Atkyns. In the great hall was a mantelpiece bearing the Hoby arms with six quarterings, the first being *argent, a fesse between three hobbies, proper, belled and jessed or.* This was brought from the old house at Hayles, as well as stained glass bearing (1) *or, an eagle displayed with two heads sable,* and round it **"Ricard' Plantagenet semper augustus, noster fundator,"** for Richard, as King of the Romans; (2) *gules, fretty argent,* for Huddleston, impaling *argent, a lion rampant, with double tail, sable,* for Stapleton, or, possibly, Barrington; (3) *argent, a lion rampant gules, within a bordure sable, bezantée,* for Richard as Earl of Cornwall, which was in the east window of the late church. These three are figured by Lysons, pl. 94. Besides these were *quarterly, France and England ensigned with the initials H. and K.*, and *France and England with a label of three points, on either side E.P.* The last two are preserved in the cloisters of the new house; the others have still to be found.

Mr. H. A. Prothero, of Cheltenham, kindly contributed the following notes on the old house:—

"To the west of the church are fragments of the beautiful old house unfortunately destroyed or allowed to go to ruin after the present house was 'erected in the Gothic taste.' What still remains consists of a Gateway which led into the yard of the house, with one-storeyed lodges, one on either side, and of one corner of the main building, of which two storeys are standing. The gateway is a fine example of the period, with refined decoration in low relief, the frieze having a very rich vine pattern.

The oak doors still remain, of fine design, with round-headed panels worked with 'egg and dart' ornament.

"Lying near the gateway are fragments of moulded and carved stone, differing in date by many centuries, though time and weather are reducing

DOORWAY OF OLD TODDINGTON HOUSE.
Photo by Oscar Clark, M.B.

them all to venerable decay. There seem to be five sets of them: (1) Coffins, with parts of lids; from the old church; or perhaps from Hayles. (2) One or two pieces from the old church tower (the only part of the 'old' church which was old). (3) Tracery of mural windows, 14th century in style, but perhaps copied insertions in one of the rebuildings of the church. (4) Corbels, masks, mouldings, demons, etc., off the old house. (5) Quite modern ribs, tracery, mouldings, etc., designed by Street for the new church and cast aside."

By the kind permission of the Rev. J. M. Hall, Rector of Harescombe, we are enabled to give Sir Stephen Glynn's notes on the church, lately destroyed, made by him on September 14th, 1859 :—

"The Church of S. Leonard, Toddington, has a nave with chancel and two aisles, and a tower on the south side of the nave: the whole of debased style except the tower, which is Decorated. The chancel was rebuilt 1635 by Sir J. Tracy: the nave in 1723 by Lord Tracy. The nave is in no style at all, but has been recently embellished by the insertion of some modern painted windows. The chancel has some windows which may be called Perpendicular—apparently recent insertions—and has on the north a sepulchral chapel closed. In the east window are some pieces of ancient stained glass. Probably the chancel has been improved in recent days, as its general style is better than that of the nave. The interior is dark, both from the stained glass and from the groves of trees which border on the churchyard. There is an organ of some size. The tower is plain, embattled and without buttresses, divided by one string. The belfry windows of two lights, late Decorated: there is also a two-light window in the lower part. The tower arch of the nave is pointed, springing from octagonal shafts. In the tower is a panelled stone against the wall, as if for a stoup—doubtful whether *in situ*. There are six bells. On the west side of the churchyard is the ancient Elizabethan mansion of the Tracys—now supplanted by the stately Gothic Hall." S. G.

The old church of Toddington contained some glass, with an inscription attached to it saying it was brought from Hayles Abbey and inserted in the church windows by Henry, 8th Viscount Tracy, in 1789. Of this there remain in safe custody nine figures of apostles, each with the sentence of the Apostles' Creed attributed to him, also two 15th century angels and two Renaissance cupids. These last may have been in old Toddington House. Atkyns says that in his time, 1712, there was an effigy of Sir John Tracy, who died in 1591, and another of Margaret, wife of Sir Thomas Throckmorton, of Tortworth, within a handsome monument supported by pillars. She died in 1577. These effigies, it is thought, sleep in the family vault, together with their human originals. The advowson of Toddington was granted in the time of Edward III. to the monks of Hayles. Sir Stephen Glynn speaks of St. Leonard as the patron saint, but Atkyns says the church is dedicated to St. Thomas of Canterbury: which would be a very proper *amende* on the part of the Tracys for the part they took in his "martyrdom."

The following notes had been kindly prepared by Mr. St. Clair Baddeley on the Glass at Toddington House:—

"The Glass at Toddington is of three kinds—Swiss, German, and English: and, properly speaking, the English should never have been inserted among the others. It may, however, be easily distinguished as

consisting of large circular medallions displaying the arms and motto (Garter) of England: sometimes, with the addition of the crowned letters H. and K. for Henry VIII. and Katharine Parr (?), and sometimes with the label of the Prince of Wales, Edward VI. These are said to have been brought from Sudeley Castle to Hayles, and thence to Toddington. The Swiss Glass, which forms, of its class, one of the most important collections

STAINED GLASS AT TODDINGTON HOUSE.
Photo by Oscar Clark.

in Europe, belongs to the period of the thirteen Cantons (1481–1798), during the chief part of which Switzerland was still formally dependent upon the Empire: hence the frequent appearance of the Imperial Insignia. It has been largely manufactured at Basle, Zurich, Berne, and Lucerne, and comes from churches, cloisters, and, in still greater quantity, from

private houses and municipal buildings. It was purchased by Charles, 2nd Lord Sudeley, at the cost of two francs a load, while travelling in Switzerland. Its present value cannot be less than £5,000.

"It was a custom in the Swiss Confederation for both towns and individuals to commemorate events and alliances by presents of stained glass. There will not pass unnoticed a significant prominence given to the murder of Wolfenschiess, of Rossberg, the Imperial Seneschal, in his bath at a cottage, the liberties of which he had grossly invaded (Cf. Schiller, Wilhelm Tell, Act 1. Sc. 1). The general design of these beautiful panels comprises portraits of the owner and his lady, their respective coats of arms, their favourite legends, figures of Justice and Prudence, some verses occasionally, and finally their names, titles, and the date. The accompanying scenes occasionally depict the craftsmen of some guild—carriers, bakers, etc.—at work (to which the owner of the panel has belonged), and, sometimes, a hunting scene, or a siege, or a tournament. At others occurs a scene from the Old or the New Testament, the Magi, or the Resurrection, or the favourite story of S. Martin and the Beggar, S. Sebastian, S. George and the Dragon, S. Anthony's temptation, or S. Benedict and the poisoned wine-cup, or the stories of the Martyrdom of S. Maurice, S. Leodegar, and S. Gall.

"Exquisite as the colouring and composition of these family panels often are, they are naturally surpassed in richness of effect by magnificent composite medallions such as the following:—East Cloister, Window 1: Imperial Arms, with shields of 31 towns, 1611, and Arms of Berne, with eighteen shields, 1601. Window 4: Arms of Berne, with twenty-one shields. North Cloister, Window 3: Two examples, with twenty-seven shields apiece. West Cloister, Window 2: Two examples of Imperial Arms, with Lion supporters, encircled by twenty-eight and nineteen shields respectively.

"In addition to these may be specially noticed in north cloister, window 3, a large panel with the Crucifixion and figures of 'Ave Regina Misericordiæ' and St. John. Also, window 11, a Bishop kneeling at prayer, landscape background; and the next panel, a Bishop mitred, vested, and standing. West cloister, window 4, St. Martin and the Beggar, with deep blue diaper background. East cloister, window 1 (central panel), an Elector (?) kneeling, 'Collegii Luzern,' 1532, Arms of Swabia (?). Window 2, a Bishop enthroned, with crozier and staff; beneath, a shield with three fleur-de-lis, or. Window 3, a mitred Abbot, lake-scene in background, and arms. The principal places named are Glarus, Appenzell, Schaffhausen, Basle, Solothurn, Fribourg, Zug, Zurich, Berne, S. Gall, Luzern.[1]

[1] St. Gall had a Prince Abbot; Disentis and Einsiedeln were likewise practically Ecclesiastical Principalities.

"On the grand staircase is a not-unrestored German (Cologne School) window, representing the Last Judgment with S. Michael.

"Near the south door, on to the terrace, is an isolated window full of rich pieces of various dates, and headed by the 'Adoration' (1670), and 'The Mock-Coronation of Jesus' (1614). It also contains a panel belonging to Phillip Albrecht von Berndorff, Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, Altschaüsen, 1620."

Under a somewhat threatening sky and a slight shower of rain, which soon gave way for a time to pleasant sunshine, the company then drove on to the interesting little Church of Hayles. Only a brief visit was paid,

HAYLES CHURCH.
Photo by W. T. Alston, B.A.

however, by most of the party to this quaint, tiny relic of early architecture, as the claims of luncheon were deemed more pressing. And, indeed, there was hardly room inside it for more than half the visitors at once.

The Church of Hayles consists of nave and chancel, both small. We learn from the *Landboc* of Winchcombe Abbey that during the wars of King Stephen's reign, Ralph de Worcester, who appears to have been a Judge of the Exchequer later on,[1] took possession of Hayles, fortified a castle, built a church, which Simon, Bishop of Worcester, consecrated, and compelled the monks of Winchcombe to concede parochial rights. The meadow adjoining the church contains the earthworks of Ralph's castle, and part of the Norman church itself remains. The shafts and

1 Itinerary of Henry II., p. 258.

caps of the chancel arch and the two pilasters which support the south wall of the chancel are a hundred years older than the oldest part of Hayles Abbey. How much more remains we cannot tell, for the thick coat of plaster on the walls, outside and inside, conceals the history that they might otherwise reveal. The monks of the abbey became possessed of the church in 1248; and it would appear that in the following century they inserted Decorated windows and a priest's doorway in the walls of the chancel, raising the roof with half-timber work. In the 15th century they inserted a Perpendicular east window and altered the Norman chancel arch to its present form. Rudge, who, by the way, asserts that the church in his time (1803) had a nave only, tells us that the church was built by William Hoby, lord of the manor, who died, at the age of 103, in 1603. This may be true as far as the nave is concerned, though the screen which remains is apparently of 15th century work. In order to insert this screen, the builders of that time, as was usual, ruthlessly cut away the chancel arch. There is a campanile for two bells at the west end, and the remains of a sanctus bell-turret over the chancel arch. The font is very plain, consisting of an octagonal bowl with octagonal shaft, broached into a square at the base. On the north side of the chancel has been lately discovered part of a stone slab with a Lombardic inscription (Hic jacet Willelm) **us B'dul et Johanna ux' eius Parentes triu' salvor' et alior'** f (filiorum). In the *Landboc* we find Roger Bedul acting as Juror at Winchcomb in 1368, and William Bedul in 1378.

There are two coffin lids in the floor of the chancel and a number of 14th century tiles bearing: (1) X.U S. under a canopy; (2) a gyrony of eight within a bordure bezantée; (3) a double piscis vesica interlaced, with a fleur-de-lys in the centre; (4) the sacred symbol of a fish; (5) set of four with a lion rampant; (6) a lion rampant within a circular border; (7) a border tile of castles and fleur-de-lys, temp. Edward II.; (8) a swan, etc., etc. We have found similar tiles in the abbey church.

Until a few years ago the altar stood table-wise, in the middle of the chancel, with seats for the communicants on every side of it; a Puritan arrangement similar to that which formerly existed at Leonard Stanley and Deerhurst. From an archæological point of view, we could wish it had remained so.

After lunch a visit was paid to the Cistercian Abbey of Hayles, of which the Rev. W. Bazeley and Mr. St. Clair Baddeley gave descriptions.

The Cistercian Abbey of Hayles was founded in 1246 by Richard, Earl of Cornwall, and dedicated on November 5th, 1251, in the presence of Henry III., Queen Eleanour, and a vast assembly of ecclesiastics and knights. In 1271 fire consumed the church, and it was rebuilt at the expense of Earl Richard, then King of the Romans. We have evidence that by the middle of the 15th century the whole of the monastic buildings

were in a sad state of disrepair, and that successive Popes called on the faithful to contribute to their restoration. With the money that thus flowed into their coffers the monks were enabled to rebuild their cloisters and re-floor their Chapter House with beautiful tiles. In 1539 the abbey was surrendered, together with all its possessions, to Henry VIII.'s commissioners, by Stephen Sagar, the last abbot, and his monks. The church, chapter house, dorter, infirmary, and frater were deemed superfluous and ordered to be destroyed; but the abbots' lodgings, the kitchen, larder, and pantries were preserved to serve as a residence in turn for the Hodgkinses, Hobbys, and Tracys. This residence, figured by Atkyns, Buck, and Lysons, has disappeared; but some seventeen arches still remain, forming part of the cloisters. In 1899 the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society obtained permission from the present owners, the Economic Life Assurance Society, and the tenants, the Toddington Orchard Company, to excavate the site of the Abbey, and during the autumn of that year their workmen, under the direction of Mr. St. Clair Baddeley and the General Secretary, cleared the cloister walks, the sacristy, and the chapter house, took measurements of the Abbey church, and repaired several of the arches which were ready to fall.

In the chapter house, which was completely cleared to the level of the original floor, were found six 13th century bosses, many fragments of 16th century tiles, the vaulting-stones of the roof, stone seats, marble shafts, and broken capitals. In the west cloister walk were discovered six 16th century heraldic bosses, with the arms of Huddleston, Henry, Lord Percy, Sir William Compton, and Evesham Abbey. Of these and other interesting finds, a description will be given later on. The owners have very generously expended £60 in repairing the barn as a museum, and this Society proposes to supply the fittings. Here will be deposited not only the objects found during the excavations, but also any other relics of the Abbey which may be lent or given by their owners. With the help of the beautiful collection of Hayles tiles at Southam de la Bere, it has been possible during the last winter to make sketches of many single tiles and of four sets of sixteen tiles, bearing the arms or rebuses of Henry VII.,

BOSS FROM VAULT OF CHAPTER HOUSE.

Photo by R. W. Dugdale.

Richard Earl of Cornwall, and Abbots Anthony Melton and Thomas Stafford. The sketches will be placed, with the original fragments, in the museum.

It was unfortunate that lack of time compelled the omission of the proposed visit to Didbrook, as there are objects of interest there which would have well repaid inspection. The Manor formed part of the original grant by Richard, Earl of Cornwall, to the Cistercian monks of Hayles, for the endowment of that abbey. Soon after the Dissolution it was granted to the Tracys of Toddington. In this parish is the hamlet of Coscombe, where the abbots of Hayles had a residence. The last abbot, Stephen Sagar, *alias* Whalley, on his surrender of the abbey in 1539, was granted the use of Coscombe for his life, and a pension of £100 a year. The house appears to have been twice rebuilt since his time: as a private residence by Judge Tracy at the beginning of the 18th century, and again as a farm-house in the 19th. There was an ancient chapel attached to the house where abbots of Hayles are said to have been buried, but it has been long desecrated and ruined.

Wormington Grange, in the parish of Didbrook, also belonged to Hayles.

The Church of St. George, Didbrook, was rebuilt by William Whitchurch, Abbot of Hayles and sometime Vicar of Didbrook. Fosbrooke, quoting Tanner's *Notitia*, says that the church was profaned June 18th, 1472 (? 1471), by the murder of some Lancastrian fugitives from the Battle of Tewkesbury, and was re consecrated. Others say that this pollution led to its being rebuilt. The present appearance of the church confirms the latter statement, for it is wholly late Perpendicular. The register of Bishop Carpenter, Bishop of Worcester, 1444—1476, will probably throw light on the matter. The tower is constructed within the nave, at the west end, and its north-east and south sides rest on arches with graceful piers and capitals. Segmental arches are carried from the north and south walls of the nave, and abut on the sides of the tower, serving the double purpose of doorways and buttresses. The tower is of three stages, with battlements, pinnacles, and vigorous gargoyles. The whole arrangement is stately and very unusual. The main buttresses are set diagonally, and there is a newell staircase in the south-west angle leading to the belfry. The chancel arch is modern, of wood. The east window contains fragments of ancient glass: two angels and part of an inscription. Bigland says that in his time (1786) there "were these arms and inscriptions: (1) *Argent, a lion rampant gules, within a bordure bezantée.* (2) *Or, a shread eagle, sable,* Abbey of Hayles. **Orate pro a'i'a Wyll Wytchyrche, qvi hoc templum fundavit cum cancello.**" He also says that in the window of the belfry were the effigies of the tutelar saint, St. George,

and Pope Silvester. The juxta-position of these two saints may be accounted for by a similarity in their legends. Just as St. George of Cappadocia was enabled, by invoking the Name of Christ, to overcome a dragon, and deliver a king's daughter from a terrible death, so Pope Silvester, in the time of Constantine the Great, in the Forum of Rome, is

WHITCHURCH GLASS. DIDBROOK.
Photo by Oscar Clark.

said to have exorcised a dragon, and delivered its inhabitants, who were falling victims to the monster at the rate of three hundred a day !

In a canopied niche on the north side of the Nave is a sarcophagus with a slab on which is carved a floriated cross of almost Romanesque character, a missal and a chalice. This is said to be the tomb of Abbot Whitchurch. Perhaps it was removed long ago from the wall of the chancel on the north side of the altar, the place of the founder's tomb. The lectern is made from some ancient carved woodwork, perhaps part of

a 15th century pulpit, which has been superseded by one of Jacobæan date. In the churchyard, lying in the grass and overgrown with moss, is a very small coffin-lid, charged with a cross and human head under a gabled canopy. It would be well if a place in the church were found for this

TOMB IN DIDBROOK CHURCHYARD.
Photo by Oscar Clark.

interesting memento of someone long since forgotten, for it probably came from thence or from Hayles Abbey. It will rapidly perish if left where it is. There is a picturesque, half-timbered house to the east of the church, an excellent subject for photographic study.

A short drive brought the visitors to Stanton, where they were welcomed in the parish church by the rector, the Rev. M. B. H. Burland.

The manors of Stanton and Snowshill, containing three hides of land, were formerly situated in the ancient hundred of Greatstanes, but are now in the hundred of Kiftsgate. They were given to the abbey of Winchcombe by Kenulph, king of the Mercians, and, together with the advowson and tithes of the church of Stanton and the chapelry of Snowshill,[1] appear to have remained in the possession of that monastery until the Dissolution. In the Harleian Valor they are said to be worth £17 11s. 4d. a year.

[1] The chapel of Snowshill was entirely rebuilt in 1864.

The two manors were granted by Henry VIII. in dowry to his last wife, Queen Katherine Parr. On her death, Edward VI. is said to have granted them to John, Earl of Warwick. King Philip and Queen Mary granted "their house in Stanton," together with the advowson of Stanton and

OLD COTTAGE, DIDBROOK.
Photo by Oscar Clark.

Snowshill, to John Elliot, and he alienated them to Thomas Dolman. The Dolmans parcelled out the manor and sold various holdings to William Jackson *alias* Boothe, Nicholas Izod, Thomas Warren, Nicholas Kirkman, and Humphry Wright respectively. These or their descendants were the builders of several Elizabethan and Jacobæan houses at Stanton.[1] The Jacksons had been tenants under the Abbey of Hayles of land at Stanton

[1] One has the date 1618 and A.B. (? Alice Booth, daughter of Thomas Warren). Another has $\frac{\text{B.}}{\text{I.M.}}$

called Hayles' Acre. They do not appear to have had a grant of arms, but to have lived for many generations at Stanton as wealthy yeomen until their lands passed away by marriage and purchase to the Izods and Wynniatts.

The Izods were of Toddington, and pedigrees of their family are given in the Heralds' Visitations of 1623 and 1682-3. The following members of the family seem to have held land in Stanton in succession from father to son: Nicholas who died in 1557, Henry who died in 1597, Henry who died in 1632, Francis who paid £10 to avoid being made a knight at the coronation of Charles I. and died 1653, and John, who, with his wife Elizabeth, is said to have left his possession by will to Wenman Wynniatt, lord of the manor of Dymock. The Wynniatts still hold Stanton Court a delightful sixteenth century mansion, the present residence of Mrs. Wedgewood.

WARREN HOUSE, STANTON.
Photo by Oscar Clark.

Henry, the brother of Francis Izod, was Patron and Rector of Stanton from 1623 to 1650, and he built the fine rectory house, figured in Lysons' *Antiquities*. It was destroyed some eighty years ago. The fate of the mantlepiece mentioned by Rudge, bearing the arms of the family—*argent, three leopards' faces 3, 2 and 1 vert*—is unknown.

The Warren family, who appear to have been a branch of the Warrens of Newton, Suffolk, were settled at Snowshill soon after the Dissolution. A pedigree of the family is given in the Visitation of 1623. Thomas, son of Richard, and grandson of Thomas Warren of Snowshill, built for himself a fine Elizabethan house at Stanton, as appears from the initials T. W. and the date 1577 over the doorway. In a part of this house, now occupied by Mrs. Richardson, is a beautiful ceiling of plaster adorned with the arms of the Warrens: *Ermine, a fesse chequy or and azure, between three talbots passant sable*, and with Tudor roses, fleur de-lys, &c., &c. The beams have a beautiful pattern on the soffit. In the church is a monument, with the above arms, to John Warren, who died in 1728, aged 66. He was grandson of Thomas Warren, who married Eleanor, one of the daughters of Giles Broadway, the builder of Postlip Hall, and great-grandson of Richard Warren, who married Jane, daughter of Sir Thomas Astley, and died 1625.

The Rev. Henry Kirkman, descended from Nicholas, one of the purchasers of the manor in the reign of Elizabeth, married Sarah, daughter of the Rev. Henry Izod, and succeeded him, though not immediately, as Patron and Rector of Stanton He died in 1705, and was followed as Rector in succession by his son Lionel, and by his grandson, Robert Kirkman. The last of these, I am told, was John Wesley's first pupil at Oxford. That great 18th century missioner is said to have visited Stanton, to have become engaged to one of Robert Kirkman's sisters, and to have preached his first sermon in the parish church. Wesley was ordained by Dr. John Potter, Bishop of Oxford, in the autumn of 1725, but he was not elected Fellow of Lincoln College till the following year. The story needs confirmation. The arms of Kirkman, as they appear on the family monument in the chancel of the church, are: *Ermine, three lions rampant gules, within a bordure engrailed sable.*

The Kirkmans exchanged the advowson of Stanton with the Wynniatts for Salford in Oxfordshire, and so passed away from the village. Thomas Wynniatt was Rector for fifty years, and died in 1810, aged 81. On his monument are the arms of Wenman: *Sable, on a fesse argent, between three anchors or, as many lions' heads erased gules*; whereas Rudge says the arms of Wynniatt are: *Sable, on a fessee argent, between three anchors or, a dragon ugles.* Reginald Wynniatt, who died in 1860, is said on his tomb in the churchyard to have been Rector for many years.

The Rev. W. Bazeley described the Church of St. Michael, Stanton, which now consists of a nave with south porch, north and south aisles and north and south transeptal chapels, chancel and western tower. The history of the church architecturally appears to be as follows. In the 12th century the monks of Winchcombe built a Romanesque church on the site of an earlier Saxon edifice. This Norman church had a nave with

STANTON CHURCH FROM THE SOUTH.
Photo by Oscar Clark.

one aisle, on the north, and a chancel. There are no traces of a Norman south aisle. Late in the 13th century the chancel was rebuilt and two transeptal chapels were added to the nave. In the 15th century very important additions and changes were made. The nave was extended westward some ten feet, a south aisle with porch and parvise or priest's chamber was built, and a tower was added at the west end.

In order to make room for a fine rood-loft, the eastern respond of the new south aisle was constructed of great depth. The Norman arch opposite, leading into the north chapel, was well-nigh destroyed, and a narrower pointed arch and a deep respond were substituted for it. Grooves for the chancel screen under the rood-loft still remain.

The north aisle was taken down, probably with the intention of

rebuilding it in the same style as the south aisle, but the work stopped for some reason and the arcade was walled up. Perpendicular windows with good 15th century glass were inserted in the east wall of the chancel, and in the south wall of the south chapel.

STANTON CHURCH.
Photo by Oscar Clark.

In 1896 Miss Elizabeth Mills died, aged 93, and left by her will a considerable sum of money for the restoration of the church and the insertion of new windows with painted glass. The work was done under the superintendence of the late Sir Arthur Blomfield, whose recent death we deeply deplore. The north aisle was rebuilt, and the arcade was restored as it was in the 12th century. The respond of the eastern-most arch was found in the east wall. With this exception the eastern arch is entirely new—a copy of the one next to it. The roof of the nave was

carefully restored and two windows, with excellent glass and stonework similar to the window at the west end, were inserted in the south aisle.

Above the capitals of the south arcade, on its north side, are flat masks, and on its south side roses, seeded and leaved. In the

PANEL OF MAURICE WRAYBURY.
Photo by Oscar Clark.

Perpendicular window of the south chapel appear the names of Thomas, Margarie, and Alice Inwey—probably the donors. The county histories, followed by Murray's Handbook, speak of a panel in the roof of the south aisle bearing a dove and the name of Maurice de Teuxsbury, who built the aisle.

The roof has been restored, but the panel fortunately remains, and, thanks to the generous care of Mrs. Wedgwood, has been repaired and inserted in the south wall. I believe it is a copy of the seal of Mauricius Wraybury, Loyer, and that the bird is a raven. Wraysbury is in Buckinghamshire. We may be able to find out who this pious 15th century lawyer was, nd why he is commemorated at Stanton. A

hagioscope connects the south chapel with the chancel. There are aumbreys in the north and south chapels, and piscinæ in the chancel and south chapel. There is some interesting glass of about the date 1480 in the east window of the chancel: the white rose and sun in splendour, badges of Edward IV., and two figures of apostles, perhaps St. John and St. Paul, beneath tabernacled canopies in which are angels looking out of windows. Below the apostles are *a bend sinister and azure, a saltire or, charged with a cross pattée of the field.* The latter are the arms of Winchcombe—a precious memento of the connection of Stanton church and parish with that abbey for eight centuries.

There are two rudely carved brackets for the statues of saints, one on each side of the east window. Parts of the ancient screen and of a 15th century pulpit are preserved at the west end of the north aisle. The present pulpit, with its handsome sounding board, appears to be of ancient Jacobæan date. Some Jacobæan panelling remains, and there are a few patches of ancient wall-painting. Part of the holy-water stoup remains in the porch. There are a few 15th century tiles at the west end of the south aisle bearing: (1) the shield of *Edward the Confessor;* (2) *four fallets;* (3) the arms of *Despencer;* and others with foliage.

There is a 15th century font.

In the village street are the base and shaft of a characteristic 15th century cross. The niched head, on which perhaps was carved the Crucifixion, the Holy Mother and Child, and the figure of S. Michael as patron saint, was taken down in the 17th century, and a sundial and globe substituted for it. The cross at the summit is probably a later addition. The head may still, as was the case at Ashleworth, survive the wreck of ages in some garden rockery.

There are few villages more charmingly situated than Stanton, or more full of archæological interest.

On the return journey a call was made at Stanway House, where, by the kindness of Lord and Lady Elcho, tea had been provided for the members.

The parish of Stanway lies in the hundred of Tewkesbury. It is said to have been given to Tewkesbury Abbey by Odo and Dodo, in 715. In 1066 there was a monastic cell here, which, as time went on, was converted into an abbots' country seat. It was rebuilt and enlarged by Abbot Richard Cheltenham in the reign of Henry VII., and Leland speaks of it at the close of the succeeding reign as "a fayre mannour place." At the Dissolution the manor was granted to the Tracys of Toddington.

The present residence, known as Stanway House, was built in the reign of James I. by Sir Paul Tracy, son of Richard Tracy and his wife, Barbara Lucy of Charlecote. Sir Paul died in 1620, and the estate passed in succession to his son, Sir Richard, who died in 1628, and his grandsons,

Sir Humphry and Sir John Tracy, who died in 1651 and 1677 respectively. The last of these left the manor by will to Ferdinando, younger son of John, third Viscount Tracy, who married Katherine, daughter of Sir Anthony Keck. He was followed in succession by John Tracy, who married Anne, daughter of Sir Robert Atkyns; Robert Tracy, who married Anna Maria, daughter of Sir Roger Hudson, and died s.p. 1767; his

GATEHOUSE, STANWAY HOUSE.
Photo by W. T. Alston.

brother, Anthony Tracy, who married Susan, daughter of the Duke of Hamilton; his daughter, Henrietta Charlotte, wife of Edward, Viscount of Hereford; her sister, Susan Tracy, wife of Francis, Lord Elcho; and Francis, sixth Earl of Wemyss. It is now the property of Francis, Earl of Wemyss and March, and is the residence of his eldest son, Lord Elcho. I have given these facts as a guide to the interesting collection of Tracy and Keck portraits at Stanley House.

Robert Dover, founder of the Cotteswold games on Dover's Hill, in Weston-sub-Edge, is said to have lived and died at Stanway. His death took place in 1652, and he was buried in the Tracy vault.

The Church of St. Peter, Stanway, consists of a chancel, nave without aisles, and western tower. The tower is of two stages with battlements,

pinnacles, and gargoyles. The lower part seems to be Early English, and the upper part Perpendicular. The nave and chancel were originally Norman, and still retain much of their original walling. Rudge speaks of a Saxon pillar in the church in his time (1803), but says that the church has been "completely modernized." Thus we have the clue to a late 18th century *restoration*, which went far towards obliterating its ancient history.

"The Saxon pillar" was evidently the Norman respond which once helped to support the roof of the chancel. and fortunately still remains. The Norman corbel-table also survived the ruin of ages, having pellet-moulding under the eaves of the nave, and grotesque heads, etc., etc., under the eaves of the chancel. The north side of a church always seems to be less affected by the weather than the south. It is for this reason that the carving on the south side has been cruelly scraped and cleaned, while that on the north is fairly uninjured. A large quantity of Norman carved work, including a portion of the Norman semi-circular chancel arch, or a copy of it, has been carefully preserved at the north-west corner of the churchyard. One little piece of the Norman arch remains in the east wall of the nave on the south of the present arch.

COURTYARD, STANWAY HOUSE.

Photo by W. T. Alston.

We should judge from the two dripstones in the east wall of the tower that there had been, in succession, a flat Norman roof, an Early English pointed roof, and a square-headed Perpendicular roof, with clerestory; and that, lastly, the roof has been restored to its 13th century slope.

There are traces of a Norman window and square aumbry on the north side of the chancel. There is a fresco on the north side of the chancel arch, with a rose, crown, and C.P., of the date of James I. or Charles I. Great care has evidently been taken in the recent restoration, but the church had been terribly mutilated previously.

Mr. Prothero kindly contributed the following notes on Stanway House:—

"The House is remarkable for the very fine grouping of its buildings. The court, 110 feet long by 55 feet wide, has the gate-house to the south.

INNER GATEWAY, STANWAY HOUSE.

Photo by W. T. Alston.

The House itself occupies the whole of the east side, a wall with entrance to the yard the north, and another wall the west, towards the churchyard, which is entered through a gateway of fine design.

"The Gate-house, about 40 feet by 20 feet, is on an unusually stately scale, having on the outer side a very large gateway flanked by bays of three storeys. On the inner side the main opening has on each side of it a small door with a pediment. Each of the six very tall gables is, like the churchyard gate, surmounted by a scallop-shell.[1] The Gate-house is commonly attributed to Inigo Jones, though there appears to be no evidence on the subject.

"The charm of the house is due to dignity, fine outline, and good proportion, rather than to detail (in which it is somewhat lacking). The chief feature is the Hall, with its remarkably large bay window divided by mullions and transoms into sixty divisions. The south (or garden) front is less interesting, having been altered, and a straight parapet of coarse design is in great contrast to the admirable line of gables towards the court.

"Of the 17th century fittings and woodwork very little remains. The bay window is filled with yellowish glass of pleasant colour, and there is a fine shovel board some fifteen feet long.

"The great 'formal garden' shewn by Atkyns, and the cascade which, Rudder says, could be seen 'from the vale below at a distance of several miles,' have passed away: but the turf and timber quite satisfy the eye."

With regard to the Gate-house, Mr. H. C. Moffatt, of Goodrich Court, wrote thus to the General Secretary:—"I have looked up Mr. Loftie's notice of Inigo Jones (in his work on Inigo Jones and Christopher Wren), and can find no mention of his having had anything to do with the Stanway Gate-house. The *Dictionary of National Biography* has a very long article on him, which is also very complete, and gives a list of all his known or *attributed* works, and Stanway does not come in for any mention. Inigo's drawings were left to his pupil Webb, and are now for the most part at Worcester College, Oxford, Library, or at Chatsworth.

Gotch, in his *Architecture of the Renaissance* in England, remarks of the Gate-house: "It is said to have been done by Inigo Jones, and the character of the work bears out the supposition; for, although thoroughly Jacobæan in its general appearance, much of the detail looks somewhat later, particularly the elliptical windows on the inner front of the Gate-house."

The members of the Society were greatly indebted to Dr. Oscar Clark, Mr. R. W. Dugdale, and the Rev. W. T. Alston for the beautiful

[1] The arms of Tracy are *Or, two bendlets azure, in the dexter chief an escallop gules.*

photographs from which the illustrations in the programme had been reproduced; and to the Honorary General Secretary, the Rev. W. Bazeley, for the care and trouble which he had taken in compiling the interesting programme, in which the various points of interest met with in the excursion were most accurately described.

The company left Stanway on the return journey about half-past five, having enjoyed a most pleasant day.

Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society.

PROCEEDINGS

At the Annual Summer Meeting,

At Bath,

July 17th, 18th and 19th, 1900.

The members arrived from various parts of the county in the morning of July 17th, among those attending being Mr. G. S. Bazley (president), Mr. F. F. Fox (president-elect), Mr. St. Clair Baddeley, Major C. H. Simpson, Mr. F. Shum, Mr. Henry Higgins, Mr. R. Groves Morris, Mrs. Groves Morris, Mr. Charles Wintle, Miss A. M. Welch, Lieut.-Colonel J. C. Duke, Major J. H. Selwyn Payne, the Rev. D. L. Pitcairn, Mrs. Pitcairn, Miss Mortimer, the Rev. W. T. Alston, the Rev. C. S. Taylor, Mr. W. H. Armitage, Mr. W. H. D. Chilton, Mr. C. E. Cardew, Mr. J. B. C. Burroughs, Mr. G. M. Currie, Mr. F. J. Cullis, Miss Chilton, Dr. Beddoe, the Rev. S. E. Bartleet, the Rev. W. Bazeley, Mr. T. S. Bush, Mrs. Bush, Mrs. Oman, Mr. C. W. C. Oman, Colonel Archer, R.E., Mr. V. R. Perkins, Miss Morgan, Mr. F. Were, the Rev. J. Silvester Davies, the Rev. W. H. Silvester Davies, Miss Davies, Mr. F. F. Tuckett, Mrs. Tuckett, the Rev. W. C. Howell, Mr. J. Medland, Mr. G. H. Wollaston, Mr. W. Blathwayt, Mr. F. B. de Saumarez, Mr. E. P. Little, Mrs. Wollaston, the Rev. W. T. Blathwayt, the Rev. W. E. Blathwayt, Colonel L. Blathwayt, Miss M. Blathwayt, Miss Madan, the Rev. F. W. Sale, Mrs. F. E. Sale, Miss Sale, Mrs. Golding,

Miss UTTERSON, Miss M. M. GODFREY, Miss SMITH, Miss CHASE, Mr. GEORGE NORMAN, Mrs. NORMAN, Mr. JAMES BAKER, Mr. T. SHERWOOD SMITH, Mr. G. B. WITTS, Mrs. G. B. WITTS, Miss SYBIL WITTS, Miss VAVASOUR, Mrs. BAKER, Mrs. J. M. COLLETT, Miss COLLETT, Mr. R. H. MOORE, Miss STANTON, the Rev. A. K. CORNWALL, Miss CORNWALL, Miss ISABEL CORNWALL, the Rev. Canon QUIRK, Miss QUIRK, Surgeon-General LANDALE, Surgeon-General RINGER, Mr. C. W. SHICKLE, Miss SHICKLE, Mrs. CHILD, Mr. J. E. PRITCHARD, Mr. G. WHITCOMBE, Mr. T. S. COTTERELL, Mr. J. LATIMER, the Rev. W. BAGNELL-OAKELEY and Mrs. BAGNELL-OAKELEY.

The members were received at the Guildhall by the Mayor of Bath (Mr. R. E. DICKINSON, M.P.) and several members of the local committee. This committee was composed of Major SIMPSON, deputy-mayor (chairman), Mr. G. A. BANNATYNE, M.D., M.R.C.P., Mr. JOHN BEDDOE, M.D., F.R.S., Colonel TINLEY BLATHWAYT, F.L.S., the Rev. WYNTER T. BLATHWAYT, M.A., Mr. W. J. BRAIKENRIDGE, Mr. THOMAS S. COTTERELL, Major C. E. DAVIS, F.S.A., Mr. R. E. DICKENSON, M.P. (mayor), Mr. EDWARD T. D. FOXCROFT, the Rev. P. E. GEORGE, M.A., Mr. T. G. PALMER HALLETT, M.A., Mrs. PALMER HALLETT, Mr. AUSTIN J. KING, F.S.A., Mr. R. H. MOORE, Mr. J. W. MORRIS, F.L.S., Mr. GEORGE NORMAN, M.R.C.S., Colonel NORTHEY, D.L., the Rev. D. LEE PITCAIRN, M.A., the Rev. Canon QUIRK, M.A., the Rev. C. W. SHICKLE, M.A., Mr. FREDERICK SHUM, F.S.A., Mr. H. DUNCAN SKRINE, D.L., Mr. B. H. WATTS, the Rev. H. H. WINWOOD, M.A., F.G.S., Mr. GEORGE WOODIWISS, and Mr. THOMAS S. BUSH (hon. local secretary).

The Rev. WILLIAM BAZELEY (General Secretary) read the annual report.

COUNCIL REPORT

THE Council of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society present the following report for the year ending July, 1900:—

There are at present 321 annual members, 85 life members, and 3 honorary members on the Society's list, giving a total strength of 409

members. The income of the Society for the year ending December 31st, 1899, including a balance of £383 8s. 8d. at the Society's bankers on January 1st, 1899, was £605 9s. 7d., and the expenditure for the same period was £188 8s. 3½d., leaving a balance at the Society's bankers on December 31st, 1900, of £416 0s. 3½d. From this balance, however, should be deducted the cost of the Society's Transactions for 1899, and the cost of printing the Index to Volumes I.—XX., now drawing near completion. This Index Volume will be issued free of cost to members who paid their subscriptions for 1896 and 1897, and at 10/6 to other members. Besides the balance at their bankers, the Society have a funded capital of £432 3s. 10d. invested in Consols, representing the fees paid by the present life members. Of the four trustees in whom originally the Society's property was vested, two—Sir William Guise and Sholto Vere Hare, Esq.—have died. The Council recommend that G. S. Bazley, Esq., and St. Clair Baddeley, Esq., be appointed in their room to act with the remaining trustees—the Right Honourable the Earl of Ducie and John Beddoe, Esq.

The Society have held three meetings since the Council made their report for 1898-9—at Fairford, Hayles, and Toddington.

The Annual Summer Meeting at Fairford was characterised by the most generous hospitality on the part of those who dwell in this interesting town and neighbourhood. Under the able leadership of Gardner S. Bazley, Esq., the Society visited on the first day of the meeting the churches of Ampney Crucis, Meysey Hampton, and Fairford. Under the excellent guidance of the Vicar of Fairford, the Rev. R. Carbonell, the beautiful series of stained glass windows of his church were systematically examined with gratification to all present.

The address of the President on the history and manufacture of stained glass, which, in any case, would have been most instructive, was rendered doubly so by the object lesson in Fairford Church.

On the second day the members made an excursion to Lechlade, Inglesham, Little Farrington, Langford, Southrop, and Hatherop, the President and Miss Bazley receiving them at Hatherop Castle, and offering them afternoon tea. On the last day of the meeting the members visited Quenington, Coln S. Aldwyn (where they were hospitably received by the Right Hon. Sir Michael Hicks-Beach), Bibury, and Ablington; and but for an accident to one of the breaks would have visited also Barnsley Park and Church.

Wilfred J. Cripps, Esq., and Mrs. Cripps, the Countess Bismark, received the members at their house in Cirencester, and showed them their interesting museum.

The thanks of the Council are due to F. P. Bulley, Esq., the Local Secretary, to whose zeal and ability much of the success of the meeting was due.

A Special Autumn Meeting was held on the 7th of Sept., 1899, for the purpose of inspecting the cloisters of Hayles Abbey, then being excavated under the auspices of this Society. The weather proved unpropitious, but the attendance was good, and much interest was taken in the discoveries which had been made.

On the 7th of June last, the Society visited Toddington, Hayles, Stanton, and Stanway. The beautiful collection of German Swiss glass at Toddington House was examined with great advantage under the guidance of St. Clair Baddeley, Esq., and the Council looks forward with pleasure to a detailed description from this gentleman's pen in the Society's Transactions.

The Council regret that Mr. A. T. Martin, who has so ably edited the 19th and 20th volumes of this Society's Transactions, has been compelled to resign his position as editor. The Council are greatly indebted to him for the faithful work he has bestowed on these volumes, which they consider will bear comparison with any of the previous volumes of the same series, and with the transactions of any kindred society.

The Council have to announce with great pleasure that the Rev. C. S. Taylor, who was compelled some three years ago to discontinue the editorship, has very kindly resumed it. Volume XXII., for which he has made himself responsible, will shortly be issued to the members as a whole, and not in two parts as heretofore.

The investigations which were commenced on the site of the Cistercian Abbey of St. Mary, Hayles, in 1899, under the auspices of this Society, are being continued. Last summer the cloister walks, and the walls of the conventual buildings adjoining them, were cleared of the rubbish, which had accumulated to the depth of several feet, and the falling arches were propped up with dry walling. The chapter house and sacristy were carefully excavated and planned, and some preliminary investigations were made on the site of the Abbey Church to ascertain its dimensions. Six beautifully-carved 13th century bosses were found in the chapter house, and six heraldic bosses, bearing the arms of Sir John Huddleston, Sir William Compton, Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, and Evesham Abbey, were found in the West cloister walk. Fragments of many 16th century tiles found in the chapter house proved to be similar to those which have been preserved at Southam de la Bere. This fact has enabled the General Secretary to make drawings of all the single tiles and of four fine sets of sixteen with the arms or rebuses of Henry VII., Richard, Earl of Cornwall, the founder, of Abbot Anthony Melton and Abbot Thomas Stafford. There were also found fragments of stained glass, pottery, ironwork, &c. This summer the site of the Abbey Church is being examined. The eastern apse, with its five polygonal chapels and the shrine of the Holy Blood of Hayles, is almost unique in character, and when perfect must have been exceedingly beautiful.

Many floor tiles, altogether different in character from those previously discovered, and in much better condition, have been secured, and the collection, when complete, bids fair to be one of the most interesting and instructive in England.

The efforts of this Council have been most generously met by the Board of Directors of the Economic Assurance Society, the present owners, who have promised to fence in the cloisters, and, at a considerable expense, have provided a suitable building for the purposes of a museum. Here have been placed the objects of interest found, and loans of drawings, seals, titles, &c., illustrating the history of the Abbey. This museum is now open to visitors, and greatly enhances the interest attached to the ruins themselves.

In conjunction with the Council of this Society, the owners have executed a trust deed which, with certain limitations, vests the contents of the museum and the ruins of the Abbey in five trustees appointed by these bodies conjointly. The first trustees are Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, C. Wise, Esq., St. Clair Baddeley, Esq., the Rev. W. H. Stanton, and the Rev. William Bazeley.

The Council have contributed the sum of twenty pounds to the excavation fund, and this has been met by generous contributions from members of this Society and others. There is a small balance in the hands of the Treasurer, G. M. Currie, Esq. It is hoped, with the kind permission of the owners and the tenants of the land, that the work of excavating the church and conventual buildings will be completed.

The Library of the Society has been open for the use of members on Tuesday afternoons throughout the year, and the Society is indebted to the Honorary Librarians, H. G. Madan, Esq., and the Rev. W. Bazeley for their attendance on those days. The Council could wish that the members would avail themselves more freely of the opportunities given to them to borrow the Society's books. The Society during the last year has received *Memoirs of the Dutton Family* from Lord Sherborne, and other donations. It has also added to the Library by purchases and by exchanges with kindred societies. The Council would be glad to receive offers of works of reference on the various branches of archæology as donations from members.

The Council deplore the death of Mrs. Dent, of Sudeley Castle, a member of this Society. This lady suggested the excavations at Hayles, and would, had she been spared, have taken the deepest interest in its progress. The following members of this Society have also been taken from us by death: Thomas Collins, Esq., of Tewkesbury; William George, Esq., of Bristol; and F. W. Witts, Esq., of Stow-on-the-Wold. All these have rendered valuable services to the Society on many occasions.

The Council has held five meetings during the past year, and wishes to express its acknowledgments to the Mayor and Corporation of Bristol for the use of the Guildhall.

The Council desire to nominate the President of Council, the Vice-Presidents of the Society, the Treasurer, the General Secretary, and the Local Secretaries for re-election.

The following Members of Council retire by rotation, but are eligible for re-election: Messrs. T. Dyer Edwards, E. C. Gael, J. Morton Ball, James Baker, J. E. Pritchard, Charles Bathurst, jun., V. Perkins, Douglas Wintle, and the Revs. C. S. Taylor and W. T. Blathwayt. Mr. P. D. Prankerd, who has rendered valuable services as member of the Council, has retired on account of failing health, and another vacancy has thus been created.

The report was adopted, and the members of the Council were re-elected, as follows:—Messrs. T. Dyer Edwards, E. C. Gael, J. Morton Ball, James Baker, J. E. Pritchard, Charles Bathurst, jun., V. Perkins, Douglas Wintle, the Revs. C. S. Taylor and W. T. Blathwayt.

Thanks were also accorded to Mr. G. S. Bazley, the retiring president, for his services to the Society.

Mr. G. S. BAZLEY responded, and in introducing Mr. F. F. Fox, the president for 1900–1, he congratulated the Society on the accession to the office of a member so distinguished in archæology, one who had belonged to the Society so long, and who was, he believed, eminent in various literary attainments.

Mr. F. F. Fox then took the chair, and, after returning thanks for his election, he remarked that he thought it was a happy augury for his year of office that they met in the ancient city of Bath. Bath might be regarded as a happy hunting ground for archæologists. Its Roman remains, its public buildings, its fine Abbey, the brilliant social life and the literary history of Bath for the last 200 years, made it one of the best known and most prominent cities of the kingdom.

At the conclusion of the meeting the visitors were hospitably entertained with refreshments by the Mayor of Bath.

In the afternoon a visit was paid to the Abbey Church, of which a description was given by the Rector, the Rev. Canon Quirk. The Canon related the well-known history of the church, and drew attention to features of interest in the building. The visitors were invited to express an opinion as to whether the figures of angels represented on the western front were descending the ladders head or feet foremost—a question by no means easy to decide.

The Abbey Churches of Bath and Gloucester have much historically in common. They were both founded in the last quarter of the seventh century by Osric, under-King of the Hwiccas, as monasteries of the Iona

type adopted by St. Hilda in her parent abbey at Whitby, communities of men and women who were trained for mission life under the rule of an abbess. Of the site or history of this early foundation little is known. It probably stood on the site of the present church and of the Roman temple of Sul Minerva. As at Gloucester, the abbesses and those who obeyed them passed away, and secular canons were established in their room; there were certainly "fratres" at Bath in 758, and it is said that there were no more abbesses at Gloucester after the death of Abbess Eva in 767. Benedictine monks took the place of the secular canons at Bath before 970, and at Gloucester in the reign of Cnut. King Eadgar was crowned at Bath, with great pomp, in 973. The later period of the Abbey's greatness commenced with the rule of John de Villula, Bishop of Wells and also of Bath, 1088—1122. He pulled down the Saxon church of the Abbey and commenced the construction of a mighty cathedral. From this time the Bishop was titular Abbot of Bath; and from 1218, when Bath was forsaken as the head church of the diocese, the highest resident officer of the monastery was the Prior. Some idea of the size of Bishop John's Norman church may be gained by remembering that the whole of the present church stands on its nave. In 1137 Bath was well-nigh destroyed by fire, and the Abbey Church suffered considerably.

"HEAD OF SUL MINERVA."
Lent by the Corporation of Bath.

SAXON CROSS.
Lent by the Corporation of Bath.

When Oliver King became Bishop of Bath, in 1495, he found the church ruined to the foundations, and he commenced its restoration.

On Bishop King's death at Lanwell, in 1503, the work was continued by Prior Bird, whose rebus, W and a bird, may be seen on various parts

of the building He died in 1525, and Prior William Holloway went on with the work, but the Dissolution well-nigh undid all that these good men had accomplished. An offer of the Abbey Church to the citizens was unfortunately declined, and all the bells, lead, and glass were sold. In 1560 Edmund Colthurst gave "the carcase of St. Peter's Church" to the city, and some years later the choir was made fit for divine service. Dr. Montague, Bishop of Wells, 1608—1616, achieved the completion of the church, and many important restorations have been effected during this century. The church is cruciform, with a central tower. The transepts are narrow and the clerestory lofty. There is no triforium. The chief beauty of the church is the fan-tracery of its vaulted roof. On the south side of the choir is the chantry chapel of Bishop Bird. Many of the celebrated invalids who crowded to Bath in the 18th century, no less for its gay society than for its medicinal waters, died there and were buried in the Abbey Church, which is crowded with their monuments.

After their inspection of the Abbey the visitors adjourned to the Roman Baths. Here they were met by Major C. E. Davis, who kindly acted as guide.

The following description of the Roman Baths is taken from the account given in the book issued by the Corporation of Bath, entitled "Bath as a Health Resort," which was drawn up by Major C. E. Davis:

"The Roman roads (1) from London and Silchester (*Calleva*) to Caerleon (*Isca Silurum*) and (2) from Lincoln to Ilchester, and possibly the west coast, cross in the neighbourhood of Bath—the road to Caerleon passing the north side of the ancient city, whilst the road from Lincoln appears to have ascended Hampton Down (now partly within the limits of the Borough) on the east, and continued southward. On this Hampton Down is the ancient Borough or Camp which may be assumed to be the more ancient City of Bath, as old Sarum is the old Salisbury.

"The exodus from old Sarum commenced in the 13th century, whilst ancient Bath descended into the vale in the 2nd century, entailing the alteration of the Roman roads. The road to Caerleon (the *via Julia*) continued indeed its old course with a branch southward towards Bath, whilst the road from Lincoln was diverted, a course of three miles running over the *via Julia*, through Bath and directly southward, when at a distance of two miles it picked up the older road, and so to Ilchester.

"The attraction to the new site of the city was doubtless the existence of the Hot Mineral Springs, where baths were erected by the Romans, as is evidenced by a coin of *Claudius*, placed apparently as a memorial on a large stone to mark the founding of the baths. Numbers of other coins have been found of succeeding Roman Emperors and Empresses, embracing a period of 500 years; and although continuous enlargements of the baths can be traced, this coin of Claudius is the only coin

that was apparently *placed* in the position in which it was found. The discovery of this coin (found within the last three years) enables us to assign a date not later than A.D. 54, or within fifteen years of that time, for the formation of the baths, although there are peculiarities of measurements that point to a British or Belgic 'laying down' in the first place.

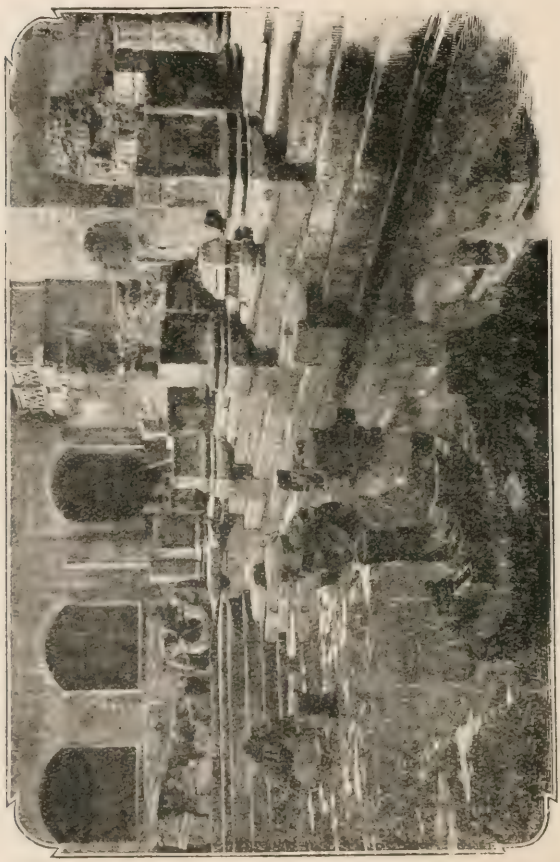
"The date of the foundation of the Roman baths may be thus fixed about the year A.D. 60, but the Roman roads that were made subsequent to the year A.D. 43, leaving Bath (*Aquæ Sulis*) out of the two main lines, clearly show that Bath as a town, on its present site, did not then exist; and if the roads were made subsequently to the foundation of the baths, it proves that residences had not sprung up in the valley surrounding the baths to the disadvantage of the hill forts, of which there were three: Hampton Down, 1½ miles to the east; Sulisbury, two miles on the north-east; and Lansdown Camp, four miles to the north-west.

"It is impossible to say when the attractions of the baths completely drew the inhabitants of the Borough on Hampton Down into the valley, but it must have been before or about the 2nd century. The building of a Cathedral drew the inhabitants of old Sarum into the valley in the 13th century, and more than a thousand years previous to that the building of the maginificent Roman baths was the attraction that peopled a valley with a population which, if we may judge from the accommodation of the baths, must have been both large and important.

"Three large Roman villas have been found in the Bath valley. These, and a few fragments of paving, altars, and tombs, are the only record of the Aquæ Sulis which was finally destroyed and deserted in 577, if we except the Roman baths. These Roman baths were the chief object in the ancient city; and it is assumed that, on the sacking of the place by the Saxons, columns and entablatures were ruthlessly destroyed; that the conduits which carried off the superfluous hot water were choked up, and that the ceaseless welling up of the mineral water continuing, the area of the baths were flooded. The valuable mineral deposit of the spring of many centuries covered the floors to a depth, in some places, of 15 ft.; but it is to this deposit that we owe the preservation of the ancient work. When that deposit and the mineral flood did not exist the baths became the quarry out of which the builders, Saxon and Normans, procured the materials for the monastery, the city walls, and the Bishop's palace which covered a portion of the site; indeed some stones can be traced in the Abbey Church, rebuilt 1500 and subsequently, that owed their first shapeliness to the Roman Legions, members of which may have been witnesses of the Crucifixion, or the destruction of Jerusalem under Titus, assumptions which are quite possible.

"The Roman baths were discovered in 1754; but what was found was in

part destroyed and covered up. Previous to 1871, from time to time, fragmentary discoveries were made; but in that year Major C. E. Davis made a fortunate discovery, which led, about six years later, to the Corporation purchasing property which enabled excavations and discoveries to be made. This work was continued until the year 1866,



THE GREAT ROMAN BATH.

re-commenced in 1899, and from that time, with an interval of a year, till June, 1895. The baths are apparently of two—if not three—periods, and suggest (*a*) a smaller system at the commencement, then (*b*) an enlarged plan, and lastly (*c*) a contracted plan. The earlier system seems to have comprised all that the second embraced, but upon a smaller

scale; while the third system shows signs of retrenchment, consequent on a more limited occupation, and also affords evidence that the structure was not maintained in thorough repair. Alterations were made in buildings from time to time until the baths in the 6th century fell into

CIRCULAR ROMAN BATH.

partial disuse, some baths being walled up previous to being abandoned in 577.

"The Roman baths were divided into two buildings by the Roman Street which then ran through the town from north to south, a hot

spring being the centre of each establishment. The great well of the larger spring (King's Bath) was surrounded by a wall of massive stones forming an unequal octagonal figure, 50 feet long by 40 broad, while the smaller spring (Cross Bath) was about 50 feet in diameter. The octagonal well (complete as to form, if not in height), which is situated beneath the mediæval King's Bath, has been completely excavated, and is now utilised as a tank for hot water, while the circular Cross Bath Spring is much mutilated; but so far as it is perfect, this also is utilised as a tank. Both wells are, unfortunately, hidden from the ordinary visitor. The excavations hitherto made have not been of sufficient extent to reach the external walls of the Roman bath, but if the north wall of the Abbey Church stands *approximately* on the north walls of the baths, and if the tesselated pavement preserved in the United Hospital was the floor of one of the rooms of the western baths, then these buildings could not have averaged less than from 300 to 350 feet broad, with a probable length of 900 feet. Assuming these calculations to be correct, the area of the Roman baths—omitting the auxiliary buildings—must have occupied from six to seven acres, and included all the requirements to be found in the grand baths of ancient Rome, with pleasure gardens covering the whole area between the baths and the river to the south.

"Five grand baths have already been excavated in what must be called, for want of a better name, the eastern establishment; the first of these was excavated in 1755, and the remainder from 1882 to 1888 and 1895. It must also be understood that important rooms, corridors, &c., have been discovered, and Major Davis at the present time is hoping to have the opportunity of clearing the northern vestibule of the baths, the pavement of which he has partially explored.

"The area occupied by the water of the baths was in the centre of each room or hall, and for the sake of brevity it will be sufficient to give the dimensions of the rooms or halls rather than of the area covered by the actual water surface. The hall of the bath discovered in 1754 was 43 ft. by 34 ft. Shortly after its discovery it was again covered with, if not destroyed by, buildings, which, however, it is hoped will shortly be in part removed, so that the Roman remains, however fragmentary, may be again exposed to view. The hall of the second or Great Bath (rectangular) is 110 ft. 4½ in. by 68 ft. 5 in., with three recesses or *exedræ* on each of the larger sides, the central recess being rectangular and the others semi-circular [1] The hall of the third bath (circular), if we include the arcades at each end of the hall, occupies an area of 68 ft. by 35 ft. The water surface of the fourth bath—one end of which is semi-elliptical or semi-circular, while the other end is the segment of a circle—stands within an

[1] See the *Excavations of Roman Baths of Bath*, by Charles E. Davis, F.S.A., printed at *The Herald* Office, Bath.

area of 33 ft. 4 in. long by 17 ft. 10 in. wide. The fifth bath (rectangular) stands within a hall 33 ft. long by 22 ft. wide.

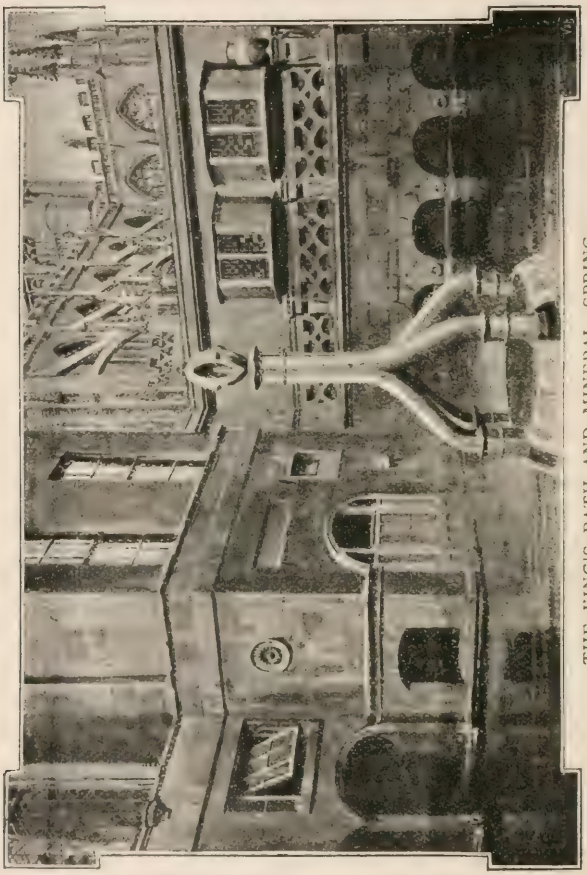
"The second and third baths were arcaded, while the others were enclosed within pilastered walls; but if the arcades at either end of the Great Bath were open, this might be called arcaded also. The height of the apartments (which were all vaulted), measuring from the *Schola* surrounding the bath, must have varied from 35 ft. to 44 ft. In addition to these larger baths, several smaller ones have been discovered, including a rectangular cold spring bath, and it may be expected some others will be brought to light

"Connected with the baths was a complete system of what are now known as Turkish baths, both in the east and the west wings of this establishment. The east wing, discovered and opened out in 1755, discloses five apartments; but there are at least three, if not six, more still undiscovered, and whilst recently excavating beneath this work Major Davis has found evidence of the existence of massive and extensive buildings, leading to the belief that there is much more of interest to be found, if not of magnificence. All the apartments that have been thrown open are floored on *pilae*, and some had also flues carried up as a coating to the walls. On the north side was a *praefurnium* or stove, by which these apartments were heated, and this *praefurnium* was in all probability supplemented by another on the south side. The hot chambers discovered on the west are by no means so extensive or so symmetrically planned as those just mentioned, and the *hypocaust*, partially complete in the rectangular chamber, has disappeared altogether from the circular chamber, which was the hottest. There were two *praefurnia* also, but in the excavations made at the beginning of this century — and perhaps previously—so much was removed that it is difficult to complete the plan.

"The western wing, which was supplied with water from the spring now called the Cross Bath, has unfortunately but little history. A recent discovery of the Roman well points to a system of baths as a western establishment; but on the formation, in 1794, of Bath Street, which occupies the area of the eastern wing of this western establishment, the position of the Roman work discovered at that time was unfortunately not recorded in any way. In *circa* 1174 the Hospital of St. John was founded, there is little doubt, on the ruins of the western wing. Those buildings have frequently been altered, so there is no proof of this assertion except a slight confirmation within the last twenty years, when a tesselated pavement was found on the erection of a wing of the United Hospital.

"During the last eighteen months, on the north of the great rectangular baths, excavations have been made which have thrown open much that is

valuable, but space is not sufficient to do more than barely note them. Beneath the Great Pump Room in the last ten years of the eighteenth century most valuable sculptures were found, which were deposited in the Literary Institution. Subsequent excavations on the same site, but to a deeper level, have revealed still more sculptured statuary; but as the



THE KING'S BATH AND MINERAL SPRING.

excavations depend on local subscriptions, which are hesitating and tardy, it is probable that little further will be found. Excavations have been made near the Roman conduit, and at a depth of 27 ft. below the present level a flight of steps was found, evidently used by drinkers in order that water might be drunk from the spring as it issued pure. From this

dipping place is continued an oaken trough, a foot wide and 8 in. deep, that originally was covered, and cased in the interior with lead. This has been cleared (June 14th, 1895) a distance of 330 ft., and might, if continued, be traced to its outfall. This drain (in which coins of Titus, Domitian, Vespasian, Constantine, Severus, have been found, together with thirty engraved gems, gold and bronze jewellery) could be again utilised after lying idle more than 1,300 years.

"On the re-building of the city in the eighth century, under its new name (Bathancastra), the baths must have been in ruins, or the Saxon Street that took the place of the Roman Street would not have been diverted so as to cross the baths diagonally. In Saxon times the simple area of the springs was alone used for bathing, and it was not until 1755 that any attempt was made to erect private baths, except the additional bath (which adjoined the King's Bath) known as the Queen's Bath, which was formed for Anne, the Queen of James I., in the year 1618. The King's and Queen's Bath, which occupies a portion of the site of the eastern establishment of the Roman baths, was enlarged and adapted with all modern appliances at a cost exceeding £20,000, from the designs of Major Davis, and opened in June, 1889, by H.R.H. the Duchess of Albany. The continuation of the baths on one site for so long a period is recorded in an inscription on the south wall of the King's bath. To this wall the Roman and the Saxon, and succeeding generations to the present time, have in turn contributed, so that the structure represents an unbroken history from Claudius and Edgar, Henry III. and Charles I., to the present day.

ON JULY, 1886,
UNDER THE MAYORALTY OF ANTHONY HAMMOND,
THE HOT WATER BATHS COMMITTEE (J. J. WILKINSON, CHAIRMAN)
HAVE LAID ON ROMAN MASONRY SEVENTEEN [EIGHTEEN] HUNDRED YEARS OLD
THE CORNER STONE OF NEW BATHS;
THUS CONNECTING IN WORK AND OBJECT
THE MODERN WITH THE ANCIENT WORLD.

CHARLES E. DAVIS, F.S.A., *Architect*."

Major DAVIS remarked that the last visit of the Society to Bath had done much good by stimulating the City Council to spend money on the baths. He proceeded to describe the discoveries made during the excavations. Among these he mentioned a tablet recording the recovery of a Roman lady through the use of the waters. That was a tolerably good testimonial for Bath, seeing that it showed that they had curative waters dating back certainly 1600 years ago.

After the company had inspected the remains,

Mr. ST. CLAIR BADDELEY was invited to give some description of Roman baths which he had investigated at Rome. He first drew the members' attention to the fact that the bath they were inspecting was a provincial specimen. Although the Roman bath proper followed to some extent a conventional plan in the distribution of its offices and halls, at Bath they found that Nature had provided the hot water, which, as a rule, the furnaces had to do in Italy. He thought one ought not to forget in the secular appearance of the institution known as Roman baths that nevertheless behind it was always a sacred significance. All fountains, springs, rivers—in fact, all water was to the ancients a sacred element. Hence they found practically that all the early baths were dedicated in the name of some divinity or other. They also found that on holidays, public festivals, and days of national calamity the whole of the baths were closed. The baths in the early days, soon after they were imported from Greece, with the addition of Oriental treatment such as massage, were usually endowed by millionaires, such as Agrippa, who built the first big public baths in Rome, and the people were usually made free of them. In the course of time a small nominal tax was put upon the bather, and later the baths were practically parcelled out among shareholders. The decoration of baths in Italy was naturally different from what they saw here; the remains of marble in British Roman edifices were very rare indeed, England being so distant a colony. That large bath in the centre was once entirely vaulted over in a peculiar way. They saw lying in the water large masses of hollow tiles, all stuck together still by their concrete. Those were portions of the vaulting which spanned the water, and were of that beautifully light construction caused by the tegulæ being hollow. Roman baths were really luxurious clubs, where, besides the baths, many amusements were provided. These baths had been made in their restoration to face the wrong way. It had been laid down as an absolute law that baths must always face south, and in a country like England, situated so far north, and exposed to bitter winds, it was doubly necessary that that should be the case. He thought that perhaps some day evidence would be found to show that the real entrance to these baths was on the opposite side to where the restorers had placed it.

Major DAVIS remarked that the grounds connected with the baths were on the south side, and the entrance was on the north. The whole of what he might call modern ancient Bath occupied what were the gardens of the baths.

Major Davis was heartily thanked for acting as guide, and the company then adjourned to tea.

The members afterwards visited St. John's Hospital and other places of historic interest in Bath. The Rev. C. W. Shickle, Messrs. Frederick

Shum, R. H. Moore, and T. S. Bush conducted several parties of the visitors.

At the end of Bath Street, behind the Cross Bath, is St. John's Hospital, also called "The Blue Alms," from the colour of the blue dress which used to be worn by the inmates to distinguish them from the inmates of St. Catherine's Hospital, "The Black Alms." It was founded by Reginald Fitz Jocelyn, Bishop of Bath, A.D. 1180, but probably was a re-endowment of a hospital of Saxon foundation. Fitz Jocelyn at the same time rebuilt the Church of St. Michael's *intra muros*, and joined it as a chapel to the Hospital. Some fragments of the Norman Church are built into the wall of the present chapel, which was erected by Wood at the expense of the Duke of Chandos, A D. 1727, the previous hospital having been rebuilt in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. The charity is one of the very few which escaped the troubles of the Reformation, and is still administered in accordance with the original foundation, but pensions are also granted to poor residents as the funds of the charity permit. The Chapel Court contains some good specimens of domestic architecture, and No. 3 is said at one time to have been the residence of Horace Walpole.

A meeting was held in the evening at the Guildhall, the president (Mr. F. F. Fox) occupying the chair.

The PRESIDENT delivered an address on "Rood Screens," which was illustrated by a number of beautiful views, and is printed in this volume of the *Transactions*.

The Rev. W. BAZELEY gave an account of recent excavations at Hayles Abbey. Last year, he said, they cleared the cloisters, which, of course, were the centre of the old monastic life. They removed the rubbish from the walls and arches and cleared the walks. They repaired the arches where absolutely necessary with dry walling. They cleared out the chapter house, the floor of which was about seven or eight feet below the surface of the field, and in doing so they found that the stone roof had fallen in bodily with all the ribs of the vaulting, the shafts and the capitals, and among the *débris* they found six very beautiful 13th century bosses, five of them carved with conventional foliage, and one with the figure of our Lord as the spiritual Samson rending the lion. In the west cloister they found again the vaulting and six more bosses of the 16th century, carved with the arms of great people who, in 1513, enabled the Abbot to repair the Abbot's lodging. A beautiful collection of floor tiles was also discovered. During the present year they had been excavating the great church of Hayles, which was about 320 feet in length—as long as Gloucester Cathedral without the lady chapel. They had opened up the east end, and had found a very beautiful apse, with five polygonal chapels and two semi-circular ambulatories. In the centre of this chapel they had found the base of the shrine of the Holy Blood of Hayles—a

most interesting discovery. Since that they had excavated the presbytery, where they had made many discoveries of interesting tiles; and, above all, they had come across the remains of a magnificent tomb, supposed to be the tomb of Edmund, Earl of Cornwall, with a part of his effigy and that of his wife. They had now got as far as the monks' choir, and they might excavate the nave.

It was announced that the Rev. W. Bazeley and Mr. St. Clair Baddeley would attend at Hayles, on Thursdays, from July 26th to the end of August, to receive visitors and to lecture on the ruins and the contents of the new museum.

Mr. ST. CLAIR BADDELEY read a paper on "The Holy Blood of Hayles," which is printed in this volume of the *Transactions*.

On Wednesday morning members were astir betimes, and assembled in Queen's Square, where vehicles waited to convey them through an interesting district of Wiltshire. The party were favoured with glorious weather, and thoroughly enjoyed their excursion.

The first stoppage was made at Hinton Charterhouse. Hinton Abbey, as it is now incorrectly called, marks the site of one of the earliest Carthusian Priories founded in England. Witham, near Frome, in this county, founded by King Henry II. in 1182 as an expiation for the murder of S. Thomas à Becket, was the earliest. The probable date of this Priory is 1227, when Ela, only daughter of William Evreux, Earl of Salisbury, and widow of William Longespie, son of Henry II. and Fair Rosamond, removed a Carthusian House, founded by her husband, from Hatherop, in the county of Gloucester, to this place. An old legend or tradition says that the Lady Ela founded this Priory on the same day that she founded the Abbey of Lacock, in Wilts, "Primo mane apud Lacock et Henton post nonam." The dedication of this house ran thus: "In honour of God, the Blessed Mary, S. John the Baptist, and All Saints." As an endowment for her Priory, Ela granted the manors of Hinton and Norton, and the advowson of the churches of these parishes, which endowment was afterwards increased by successive benefactions of land in various neighbouring parishes. Many privileges and immunities also were granted by King Henry III. and Pope Innocent IV. The number of monks would seem to have been at first fourteen, and was afterwards increased. In addition, there were about thirteen conversi or lay brethren engaged in tilling the lands, who were located about a mile distant at a place named Frary, now called Friary, near the banks of the river Frome. At the time of the Dissolution there appear to have been sixteen monks, of whom fourteen, with Edmund Hurd, the last prior, signed the surrender on March 31st, 1539. The value at this period was assessed at £248. The buildings were sold to Walter, Lord Hungerford, of Farleigh Castle, and, after passing through several hands, came into the possession of the

Colthursts, one of whom probably erected the manor house out of the materials of the demolished buildings. Later on the site of the Priory again came into the possession of the Hungerfords, and about 1684, on the dispersal of the estates of that important family, it was sold to

HINTON CHARTERHOUSE.
Photo. by W. Middleton Ashman, 12 Old Bond Street, Bath.

Mr. Henry Baynton, of Spye Park, in the county of Wilts. Some twenty years later, when the Baynton estates were in turn sold, Walter Robinson, of Southstoke, ancestor of the present proprietor, purchased the property.

The church which stood on the north side of the principal remaining block has entirely disappeared, so have the monks' dwellings.

The chapter house, the refectory, the buttery and the kitchen remain. The chapter-house block consists of three storeys, and is mainly of the Early English style, the lower storey forming the chapter house, the next the library, and the third storey the columbarium. There is also a small chamber on the ground floor, apparently of more recent date, possibly a sacristy with a chamber above. The springing of an arch on the north side of the block appears to indicate the position of the demolished church, which may have been about 70 feet in length, and this induces some people to believe that this was a chapter-house and not a church.

The building on the west of the block is thought to have been the refectory, and the loft overhead the guests' dormitory. The chamber beyond the refectory appears to have been the kitchen or buttery, with a large fireplace and serving hatch. The corbels which remain suggest a covered passage, running from the chapter-house block to the refectory, and also a cloister or ambulatory on the south side of the refectory. There were probably two courts on the south, west and north of the principal block, containing the three-roomed dwellings of the brethren. The ponds on the west of the buildings seem to indicate the fishponds of the priory. The prior's lodgings may have occupied the site of the manor house, and have been incorporated with the later erection. The name "Park Corner," applied to a collection of cottages on the road to Freshford, points to the extension of the park or demesne in that direction.

Mr. WALLACE GILL, who acted as guide, read an interesting paper on the Priory.

Mr. Gill, in the course of his remarks, said the first monastery of the Order of Carthusians in England was said to have been founded by St. Hugo, afterwards Bishop of Lincoln, at Witham, in Somerset, about the year 1175 or, as others said, 1181. On April 16th, 1232, so the story went, Ela, Countess of Salisbury, widow of William Longespé, the son of Fair Rosamod, founded a nunnery at Lacock, near Chippenham, and the same day founded the Carthusian Priory of Hinton in honour of God, the Blessed Virgin Mary, St. John Baptist, and All Saints. There were never more than nine Carthusian houses in England, and the first two of these were in Somerset. The monks, according to the rule of their Order, lived in separate dwellings; each member of the community had his cell opening from the great cloister; adjoining his cell were his workshop and his garden; his food was conveyed to him through a hatch. Silence, solitude, and prayer were the precepts of the Order. On certain feasts the monks dined together in the refectory, absolute silence being preserved. The Prior and the procurator alone went outside the precincts of the monastery.

According to their rule, they abstained absolutely from meat except in case of illness; they dressed in white cloth, the head being entirely shaved, except a narrow crown, stopping at the temples. Each father occupied his time in prayer, reading, transcribing manuscripts, working in his garden and workshop, and taking his turn in the services of the Church. Such was his life; and when his time drew near he gathered up his strength, and, surrounded by his brethren, received from each the kiss of peace, and left this earth as befitted a true son of Saint Bruno. He was buried in the cemetery in the midst of the great cloister, clad in his robe and scapular, his face covered with his hood, which was then sewn up; and his grave marked with a wooden cross without any inscription. There for 300 years the monks enjoyed what an old writer of the Order termed their unbroken, sanctified rest, one long Sabbath in the monastery, known as "Locus Dei." The Priory received the usual charters from the Kings. They held their fair at the neighbouring manor of Norton St. Philip on the vigil, the day, and the morrow of the Feast of St. Philip and St. James; and another fair of three days at Hinton on the Feast of St. John the Baptist. This fair was held so near the Priory that the noise disturbed the monks, and Edward III., in order that "his beloved in Christ, the prior and convent, should not be disturbed in their devotions," granted that they might transfer this fair to Norton, so they held both fairs there. Henry III. granted the Priory immunity from taxation and forest laws. Richard II. gave them permission to pay their tenants what wages they might agree upon, instead of the rate being limited by the Statute of Labourers, and allowed them to trade freely in skins tanned in their tanyards. A yearly allowance of a hogshead of wine was delivered them by the King's butler at Bristol, and in exchange they prayed for the welfare of the King and Queen and their children, and for their souls when they died. Lands were bequeathed them; the parish churches and other endowments in the surrounding villages passed into their hands, the rectors of the parishes being reduced to the positions of vicars. In the neighbouring valley was a hamlet called Frary, or Friary, where there are remains of mediæval buildings. Here were possibly the mills, cloth works, and tannery; some said this was the "domus inferior," or house of the lay brothers. In a garden, which was still called "the Church," fragments of 13th century work were occasionally turned up. Coming down to the period of the dissolution of the monasteries, Mr. Gill mentioned that the two Royal Commissioners, Tregonwell and Petre, arrived there on January 25th, 1539. By March 31st, 1539, the opposition to the King's demands was broken down, and the surrender was signed in the chapter house, the names of Prior Horde and sixteen monks appearing in the margin. Henry, now supreme "head of the Church of England on earth," granted the Prior a gratuity of £11 and an annuity of £44, and

each of twenty-three monks and lay brothers gratuities and annuities of varying amounts. They found Nicholas Balland received 33s. 4d. gratuity and £6 13s. 4d. annuity. Sir Walter Hungerford, of Farleigh, wrote asking for the spoil of the Priory. Tregonwell sold part of the Priory buildings to him, and they found him complaining a few weeks after that Sir Thomas Arundel, coming to survey the property, had sold and despoiled and quite carried away a great part of the church and other superfluous buildings, and that Henry Champneys, of Orchardsleigh, had broken into the Prior's cell. Hungerford did not long enjoy his acquisition, for he was beheaded the next year, together with Cromwell. Turning to the buildings, Mr. Gill said the church had disappeared, and so had the monks' dwellings and the cloisters. Two small blocks alone remained. One block was of three storeys: the lower storey contained what was probably the chapter house, a vaulted building of the early part of the 13th century, with triple lancet east windows, a single north and south window and a western doorway, a fine piscina and an ambry. In the recess where the altar stood there were traces of the reredos. On the north side was a passage leading to what was probably the sacristy, and thence into the church, one fragment of the groining of which remained with a single sedilia. A spiral staircase led to a vaulted chamber, which was possibly the library or record room over the chapter house, having seats in the recesses of the windows. The windows at the east end had been cut away to form an entrance into the space over the east bay of the chapter house, the roof having been raised (subsequently, he would say, to the Dissolution) and the walls covered with stone dove-cots. Over the library was another space in the roof, also fitted with dove-cots. These were, in his opinion, of the late 16th or 17th century. By the side of the library was a small room with a window of Perpendicular date. Corbels could be seen on the south and west sides of the block of buildings which supported a scan-to roof of a passage or cloister. There was a corbel in the form of a head supporting a buttress at the south-east corner of the main block, almost hidden by later masonry. Some distance west of the chapter house was a groined room, about 20 ft. by 20 ft., which was possibly the monks' refectory, or part of the guest house, and adjoining was a groined kitchen with its fireplace and a buttery. Above was a long room which might have been the guests' dormitory. All this building he considered to be of the same date as the chapter house. In the corner of the present stable building there were traces of an old building, which appeared to be of 15th century work. To the west were a series of ponds, from which the water supply of the monastery was probably taken. These had the curious name of "Spear Ponds." In time of drought, he was told, the foundations of the old buildings might be seen. He hoped some day the foundations might be uncovered and some light thrown on

the arrangement of the Priory. An old document spoke of the "subterranean aqueducts deep and long, dug and furnished with leaden pipes." He had seen the aqueducts opened near the stables, and a leaden pipe had been found. He thought it possible that one part of the present dwelling-house might have formed a portion of the 15th century part of the monastery. It had been suggested that it was the Prior's house, but his lodging was usually, he believed, placed to the west of the church. It was said that at early morning on rare occasions one properly gifted might hear faintly the bells of the old Priory and the good monks of Hinton singing the old service in the church of the "House of the Place of God." In 1539 the commissioners arrived, and two months after their arrival the surrender was signed in the chapter house, where the party had now assembled. When the Somerset Society came there the secretary objected to the structure being called a chapter house.

The Rev. W. BAZELEY said at first sight he thought the building must have been a chapel, and he did not wonder at the objection. As, however, there were only nine chapter houses in England, he was prepared to hear that was a chapter house, though he must own to being surprised.

Mr. GILL remarked that the structure was not a church, to which the Rev. W. BAZELEY remarked it might have been the church of the infirmary, as the monks had their own kitchen and their own chapel. He had never seen that building till now, but it was a matter that should be inquired into before it was said that was a chapter house and not a chapel.

Mr. FOX (the president) expressed the thanks of the archæologists to Mr. Gill, and said the difference of opinion added to the interest of meetings such as that, and led to research.

After a dusty, though delightful, drive, the party proceeded to Farleigh Hungerford Castle, where Mr. Wallace Gill was again in request, and Mr. F. Were, a member of the Society, who is an authority on heraldry, afforded some valuable information respecting the Hungerford family. In the last number of *Notes and Queries* for Somerset and Dorset, Mr. Were has supplied particulars respecting the tomb of Sir Edward Hungerford. Leland says: The "Castelle is set on a Rokky Hille. There be diverse praty Towrres in the utter Warde of the Castelle. And in this utter Warde is an ancient Chapelle, and a new Chapelle annexid onto it. Under the Arch of this Chapelle lyith, but sumwhat more to the old Chapelle warde, one of the Hungerfordes with his wife, having these Epitaphies apon 2 Schochins of Plate of Brasse Hic jacet Thomas Hungerford chevallier dñs de Farley, Welew & Heitesbyri: qui obiit 3 die Decembris A°D 1398. Cujus animæ propitietur Deus. Amen. Hic jacet Domina Joanna uxor eyusdem Thomæ Hungerford Filia D^i Edmundi Husee Militis: quæ obiit prima die Mensis Martii, A°D 1412."

The late Canon Jackson in his notes says that the owner of the Manor in the reign of Edward the Confessor was Smewin. At the Domesday Survey it belonged to Sir Roger de Curcelle, at whose death it reverted to the Crown, and William Rufus granted it to Hugh de Montfort in the reign of Henry III. From Sir Henry de Montfort the village obtained the designation of Farleigh Montfort. In the reign of Edward III. Sir Regninald de Montfort sold it to Bartholomew lord Burghersh. In 1369 it was sold to Sir Thomas Hungerford, whose family derived their name from Hungerford, Berks. In the reign of Charles I. Sir Edward Hungerford sold the estate to Mr. Henry Baynton, of Spy

FARLEIGH CASTLE.
Photo. by W. M. Ashman.

Park, who, with his wife, the Lady Ann Wilmot (sister of the Earl of Rochester), lived there, and would appear to have been the last occupant. Early in the 18th century the Manor and Castle were purchased by the Houltons, who held them until a few years ago. Sir Thomas Hungerford obtained a royal license to convert the mansion of the Montforts into a Castle. A plan of the Castle shows that it consisted of a southern court with dwelling-house and offices, the court being flanked by four round towers, and a northern court containing the chapel, stables, &c. The chapel is in good preservatiou. The nave is 56 feet by 19½ feet, and the chantry chapel on the north side is 20 feet by 14 feet. The

monuments to the Hungerfords will be noted, also the coats of arms on the wall.

In *Wiltshire Notes and Queries*, March 1900, is given a very fine seal of Margaret, wife of Robert, second Lord Hungerford, also her signature; she died in 1478-9, and he in 1459. Many members of the Hungerford family were buried in Salisbury Cathedral.

When the excursionists quitted Farleigh they drove to Bradford-on-Avon, and after luncheon at the Swan Hotel, Mr. C. S. Adye, architect of the town, who is an ardent archæologist, conducted some of the excursionists to what is at present the Free School, but was formerly the church house, a structure answering to the parish room of the 19th

HUNGERFORD TOMB, IN THE CHAPEL OF FARLEIGH CASTLE.
Photo. by W. M. Ashman.

century. This church house was built by a man named Horton in the early part of the 16th century. Upon entering the building the party were specially interested in the minstrels' gallery, which is not now put to any purpose.

The parish church was next inspected, and here the Rev. S. G Collison, the vicar, and Mr. Adye afforded information.

This church, dedicated to the Holy Trinity, was built about 1100, but many alterations have been since made. The original chancel was about two-thirds of the length of the present one. In the 14th century the chancel was lengthened. In the 15th century the present tower was added.

In the 16th century two chapels were added, and, later in the century, the Kingston Chapel. This last is now occupied by the organ. The chancel is 48 feet by 20 feet. It had two Norman windows on each side. The following objects of interest are in the chancel: (1) Methuen's monument on the south side; Charles Steward of Cumberwell's monument on the north side—a crown, and the name of Steward, point to some connection with royalty, and the heraldic bearing shows some connection with the Compton family (Marquis of Northampton); (3) brass at the entrance, dated 1600; (4) recessed tomb on the south side, with effigy of a crossed-legged warrior; (5) an effigy of a woman, on the north side, with wimple, of about the date 1300; (6) hagioscope on the north side, unusually long; and (7) traces of a rood screen.

The nave is 88 feet by 30 feet. The north wall has been removed and an arcade constructed, turning two chapels into a north aisle, 90 feet by 15 feet. The earlier chapel, with an altar, was at the east end. There is a brass at the east end, on the south wall. Towards the west end of this aisle is a reredos facing north. The tower has a groined roof.

The members next visited the Saxon Church, which was founded by St. Aldhelm, Abbot of Malmesbury and first Bishop of Sherborne, A.D. 705-709.

This church, dedicated to St. Laurence, consists of a nave, 25 ft. 2 ins. from east to west, and 13 ft. 2 ins. from north to south, and 25 ft. 5 ins. from the floor to wall plate; a chancel, 13 ft. 2 ins. by 10 ft. and 18 ft. 4 ins. high from floor to wall plate; and a porch on the north side of the nave, 9 ft. 11 ins. by 10 ft. 5 ins. and 15 ft. 6 ins. high from the floor to the wall plate; the floor of the nave being 5 inches lower than the floor of the porch, and the floor of the chancel 9 inches lower than the floor of the nave. The original step of the chancel is still *in situ*. On the south side of the nave was formerly a porch, which investigations have proved to have been of the same dimensions and height as the porch on the north side. Early in the last century this was removed to make way for a dwelling-house for the master, when the church was first used as a Free School. A few years back the trustees had two walls erected on the site of the former east and west walls of the porch, of the same thickness as those of the former building, to mark the exact size and height of the porch, and to act as buttresses to support the wall of the nave. The walls of the church vary in thickness from 2 ft. 4 ins. to 2 ft. 6½ ins. There was no entrance from the west, the building being entered through the porches, through high and narrow archways without doors. The chancel arch jambs are rebated for doors, and the mortices into which the doorposts were fitted are still to be seen. Over this arch are two large figures of angels rudely carved in stone; each angel is dressed in a long flowing robe, with a cincture and nimbus; it appears probable that there was formerly a crucifix of corre-

sponding size between them. There are only three original windows—one on the north side of the chancel, another on the south side of the nave, and a third on the west side of the north porch. The chancel window is

SAXON CHAPEL, BRADFORD-ON-AVON.
Photo. by W. M. Ashman.

the same as when first built, but the other two have been mutilated The pitch of the present roofs is higher than that of the original ones. The chancel roof is not earlier than the 14th century, and the roof of the nave

is about one hundred years later. The outside of the building is very remarkable, with its arcaded and panelled walls, the arches being supported on pilasters with characteristic heads and bases. When the late Canon Jones—who was vicar of Bradford—discovered the church, it was used as a school, with a master's house built against the south wall. Further east, against the south wall of the chancel, was a large stable; on the east side was part of an old house; a mending shed stood on the north side, entirely hiding and enclosing the porch; at the west end the arcading had been cut through by a doorway and windows; while, inside, the nave had been converted into rooms for the school, and the chancel divided up to form a labourer's cottage; a doorway and two windows had been cut through the north wall, and one window through the east wall. The trustees, on obtaining possession of the church, proceeded to remove the modern buildings, the interior partitions and floors, and the plaster from the walls; the modern doorways and windows were walled up, and the missing parts of the old work were replaced, the stones being intentionally left rough to distinguish old from new. Mr. C. S. Adye made drawings to scale of every part as they then existed: these drawings are hanging inside the church. The work of restoration was also carried out under his instructions.

Mr. Adye described the features of the church, and when the party had examined it, they left for a stroll through the grounds of Dr. J. Beddoe, who was pleased to welcome gentlemen some of whom he had long known.

The Tithe Barn was then visited. This building was erected about the end of the 14th century, or the beginning of the 15th, for the Abbess of Shaftesbury. It is 170 feet long by 30 feet wide, and has four porches, two on the north side and two on the south side. The farm house contains some remains of a dwelling of the same date as the barn—perhaps the residence of the agent of the Abbess, who was also the Lady of the Manor. The bridge over this river shews every indication of having been built about the same time. Leland says that this bridge had "nine fair arches of stone," and Aubrey, in the 17th century, says: "There is a strong and handsome bridge in the midst of which is a little chapel as at Bath for masse." From his own observation, Mr. C. S. Adye has come to the conclusion that the original structure was only about half the width of the present one, on the upper side of which was a chapel, and that it was widened in the 17th century, the chapel being taken down to the floor level, and the present picturesque building erected for the purpose of a lock-up. The moulded ribs of the original bridge are worthy of observation, as well as the corbels which supported the original chapel.

Upon the invitation of Mr. J. Moulton, the excursionists repaired to The Hall, a fine example of early 17th century work. There was at an earlier period, and no doubt on the same site, a house belonging to the Halls. Leland says, "Hall *alias* de le Sale dwellith in a pretty stone house at the

east end of the town, on the right hand of the Avon." The Hall family of Bradford was of considerable antiquity; the name De Curtâ or De la Sale is often met with in very early deeds. William de Curtâ is frequently mentioned as a witness to documents 1273—1307. John Hall, the supposed builder of the house, married Elizabeth Brune; their son, Sir Thomas, who died 1663, married Katherine, daughter of Mr. Edward Seymour; their son John, who died 1711, married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Thos. Thynn, of Longleat, and their only child, Elizabeth, married Thomas Baynton, of Chalfield, whose daughter and heiress married the Hon. Wm. Pierrepoint, son and heir of Evelyn, 1st Duke of Kingston. Wm. Pierrepoint pre-

THE HALL, BRADFORD-ON-AVON.
Photo by W. M. Ashman.

deceased his father. One of his two daughters, Frances Pierrepoint, married Philip, eldest son of Sir Philip Meadows, and their son, Charles, assuming the name of Pierrepoint, was created Baron Pierrepoint and Viscount Newark in 1796, and Earl Manvers in 1806. He sold this house in 1802. From some remnants of old law papers rescued from this house, it is clear that part, if not the whole, of the Manvers property at Bath had belonged to the Halls of Bradford. The purchaser of the house allowed it to get into a very bad state. In 1848, Mr. Stephen Moulton bought it and put it into complete repair.

An exact reproduction of this house was erected in the grounds of the Paris Exhibition—1900—as a pavilion for H.R.H. the Prince of Wales. The Corporation of Bath also sent a scale model of the Roman Baths, as well as other objects of interest; these were placed in a room in the house.

Having been entertained at tea, and listened to some particulars of the mansion from Mr. Moulton, the party thanked him for his hospitality, and left for Great Chalfield. Here the church and manor house were found to be of considerable archæological importance.

This interesting group of buildings is, as a whole, unique in this part of England; the church and the manor house with its farm buildings being surrounded by a moat. In 1086 the manor was held by Ernulf de Hesding,

GREAT CHALFIELD, CHURCH AND MANOR HOUSE.
Photo. by C. F. Perren, Bath.

of the King. In the reign of Edward I. it was held by Sir William Rous, of the Earl of Salisbury, as part of the Honour of Trowbridge. In the reign of Edward III. it was held by Philip fitz Waryn. For many years it was in possession of the Percy family. Early in the 15th century Thomas Troponell, who was connected by marriage with the Percys, obtained possession of it. This Thomas Troponell is said to have built the manor house. The beautiful oriel window, with the gable at the eastern end of the building, is all that remains of that part. The second oriel window, the porch, and the other windows deserve careful notice. The front view of the house is very striking. The farm buildings are of

much later date. The church, which lies to the east, is of a much earlier date than the house, but it has been considerably altered. The porch and bell turret are both interesting and peculiar. The church consists of nave, chancel, and chapel.

A paper on Great Chalfield and its history, by Mr. J. Silvester Davies, is printed in the present volume of the *Transactions*.

Leaving Great Chalfield, the party returned to Bath. In the evening, the Mayor and Corporation invited the Society to inspect the Loan Exhibition from South Kensington at the Art Gallery. The insignia, plate, and city charters of Bath were on view, and Mr. Austin J. King described them. The Rev. C. W. Shickle, vice-president of the Bath Field Clubs, and Mrs. Shickle offered the members tea.

The summer meetings were concluded on the following day. Prior to starting on the excursion the members met at Francis' Hotel, at Bath, under the presidency of Mr. F. F. Fox, when the undermentioned votes were passed.

Resolutions, July 9th. That a vote of thanks be given—

(1) To the Mayor and Corporation of Bath for the use of the Guildhall, and for their courteous invitation to the Technical Schools and Loan Exhibition of Pictures.

(2) To the Mayor of Bath, Mr. and Mrs. Moulton, the Rev. C.W. and Mrs. Shickle, and the Rev. W. T. and Mrs. Blathwayt, at Bath, Bradford-on-Avon, and Dyrham, for their generous hospitality.

(3) To the Incumbents of Bath Abbey, Bradford-on-Avon, Great Chalfield, Bitton, Siston, Pucklechurch, and Dyrham for permission to examine their interesting churches.

(4) To Cuthbert Heathcote, Esq., Dr. Beddoe, Mr. Chowd, J. Moulton, Esq., G. P. Fuller, Esq., Mr. James Bailey, the Hon Mrs. Thesiger, and the Rev. W. T. Blathwayt, for their kind invitation to visit Hinton Priory; The Tithe Barn and The Hall, Bradford-on-Avon; Great Chalfield Manor House; Siston Court, and Dyrham Park respectively.

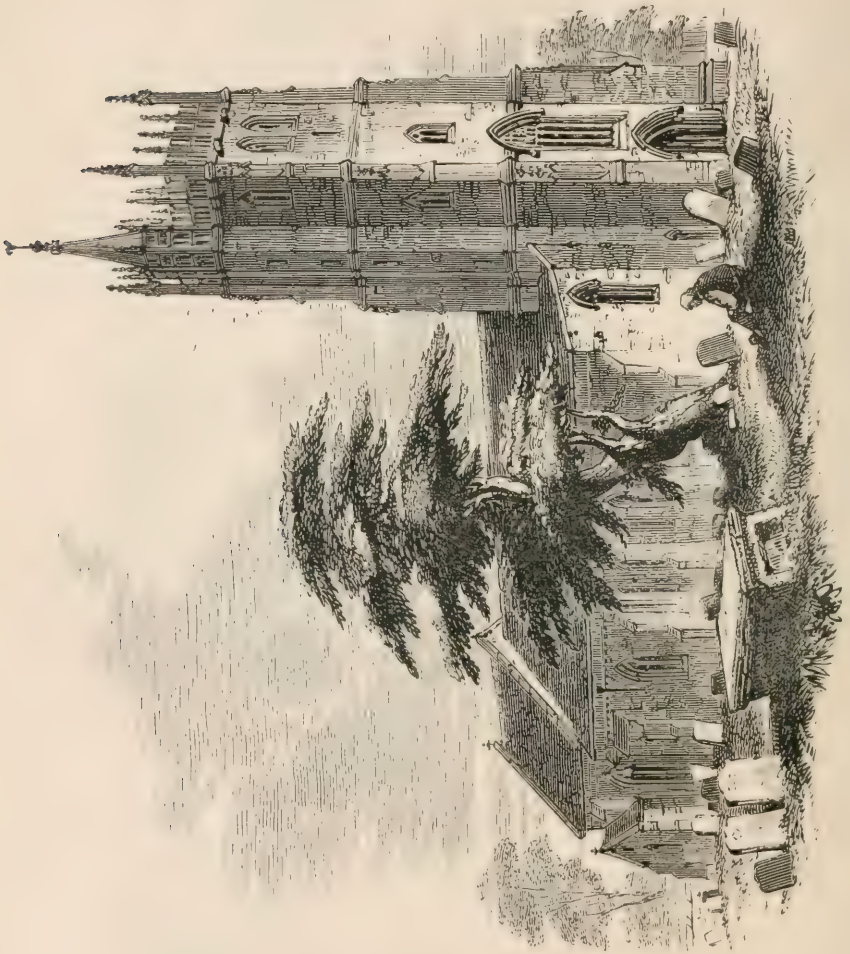
(5) To Major C. E. Davis, the Rev. Canon Quirk, the Rev. C. W. Shickle, Messrs. Frederick Shum, R. H. Moore, Thomas S. Bush, Wallace Gill, C. S. Adye, and the Revs. S. G. Winson, W. T. Blathwayt, and Mr. Pullen, for acting as guides to the various places of interest.

(6) To the Chairman, Secretary, and Members of the Local Committee for the excellent programme suggested by them, and to Thomas S. Bush, Esq., the local secretary, for his valuable assistance in conducting the meeting.

(7) That the choice of places of meeting for 1901, and the nomination of a President, be confided to the Council.

The question where next year's meeting should be held was also considered. A resolution was adopted that the selection of Chipping Campden by the Council of the Society would be acceptable to the members.

Starting from Bath at ten o'clock, the members drove to Bitton to inspect the parish church.



BITTON CHURCH FROM THE NORTH-WEST.

The manor of Bitton at the time of the Survey, 1086, was held, as it had been in the Confessor's time, by a Saxon Thane called Dons. He was probably the Dunne or Duns who before the Conquest held manors in

Rockhampton, Stoke, and Brimpsfield, and who was compelled by the Conqueror to surrender them to Osbern Giffard.

But the church of Bitton, which gave its name and probably its endowment to a prebendal stall in the cathedral church of St. Mary, Salisbury, held one hide of land in the parish. Moreover, a large portion of Bitton was included in the ancient forest of Kingswood; but it was disafforested in the time of Henry III., the King preserving a certain portion as a royal chase.

At the accession of Henry II., Bitton was held by Adam d'Amneville, who had two sons, Robert de Hanham and Robert de Bitton. The former was the ancestor of the Blunts, who held half the manor till the reign of Henry VIII., when it was sold to Sir Maurice Berkeley in 1515. From the latter were descended the de Buttons or de Bittons, who held the other moiety till the reign of Richard II., when it was sub-divided among three heiresses.

The Dennises, a family who at one time held lands in every parish we were visiting on the 19th—Bitton, Siston, Pucklechurch, and Dyrham,—became possessed of the manor house, &c., of Bitton in 1660. In the 18th century this family died out in the male branch, and their property passed away with two heiresses.

A son of Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset and Lord Protector, obtained the rectorial rights of Bitton in the time of Queen Elizabeth, and his descendants dwelt there for several generations. The Rev. H. T. Ellacombe, sometime vicar of Bitton, the chief authority of his time on church bells, wrote an excellent account of Bitton in two volumes. His son, Canon Ellacombe, the present vicar, has very courteously lent the Society some of the blocks which illustrate that work.

The church of St. Mary, Bitton, consists of a nave with porch and north aisle, a chancel, and a western tower.

The Survey mentions of a church at Bitton in 1086. This church was probably a small Saxon stone building, some remains[1] of which are still incorporated with a more important edifice built early in the following century.

Mr. Ellacombe has told us that, of this Norman Church, there remain the capitals of the chancel arch, fragments of a rood embedded in the wall above this arch on the east side, and the capitals and bases of the south door. This early 12th century church probably consisted of an aisleless nave with rows of small windows high up, north and south transepts, and a short chancel. The first change seems to have taken place in 1299, when Thomas de Button, then Bishop of Exeter, built a chantry chapel on the north side of the nave, with four side windows, and dedicated it to St. Katherine.

1 Mr. Freeman speaks of these as existing near the east end of the north wall.

The following account of the church was kindly given by the Rev. W. T. BLATHWAYT, rector of Dyrham:—

"Remains of Roman bricks were found in the Norman masonry of the west wall of nave in 1850, and tesseræ of Roman pavements and urns and coins were found in the churchyard, for the Via Julia from Bath to Bristol runs through the village. On the east side of the chancel arch may be seen part of the ante-Norman, semi-circular arch, and over this

FRAGMENTS OF ROOD.
Lent by the Rev. Canon Ellacombe.

arch on the west side was a plain string course and the remains of a colossal effigy of the Saviour treading on the dragon, so that the original roof must have been very high-pitched to admit such a figure being visible inside the church. The west end was 100 ft. from this chancel arch. This was ascertained by taking up the pavement of the present tower, when the original entrance step was found; and on the outside of the tower, in

a line with the outside south wall of the church, were found the foundations of two flat Norman buttresses, so that when the present tower was built the nave was reduced to its present length. The south wall, west of the doorway, now blocked up, is of a different style of masonry, and sloped off to be tied into the angular tower buttress. This south doorway, which has different caps, was blocked up in 1822. On the north side, immediately opposite, was a corresponding doorway, destroyed in 1299, when the two arches were built by Bishop Bitton, opening the chantry chapel to the nave. The foundations of this doorway were discovered in 1849. Blocks of Norman ashlar masonry may be seen in the north and south walls. In the north wall of the nave, on the outside, is an archway with long and short work, which may have opened into a tower before the present tower was built. The chancel and present tower were built in 1377.

"A document, given below, was lately found by Mr. W. H. Bliss in his Papal Archives, containing a letter from Pope Gregory XIth in 1371, addressed to all the faithful, &c., exhorting them to assist in repairing the parish church and chancel of Bitton, in the diocese of Worcester:

"'Regesta, 282.f.43. Gregorius XI. Universis Christi fidelibus presentes literas inspecturis salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Ecclesiarum fabricis manus porrigere adiutrices pium apud deum et meritorium reputantes frequenter Christi fideles ad imponendum Ecclesiis ipsis auxilium nostris literis exhortamur et ut ad id et fortius annuentur quo magis ex hoc animarum commodum se speraverint adipisci nonnunquam pro hiis temporalibus suffragiis spiritualia eis munera videlicet Remissiones et Indulgentias elargimur. Cum itaque sicut accepimus parochialis Ecclesia de Bitton et ejus chorus Wigornens Dioc: que propter vetustatem et tempestatem deformata extitit reparatione indigeat ad quam pie fidelium elemosyne sunt plurimum opportune universitatem vestram rogamus monemus et hortamur attente vobis in remissionem peccaminum injungentes quatenus de bonis vobis a Deo collatis ad hujusmodi Ecclesiæ et chori reparationem vestra grata caritatis subsidia et pias elemosynas erogetis ut per subventionem vestram hujusmodi ecclesia et chorus predicti reparari valeant vosque per hæc et alia bona que Domino inspirante feceritis possitis ad eterne felicitatis guadia pervenire. Nos etenim de Omnipotentis Dei misericordia et beatorum Petri et Pauli Apostolorum ejus auctoritate confisi omnibus vere penitentibus et confessis qui ad hoc manus porrexerint adiutrices unum annum et quadraginta dies de iniunctis penitentiis misericorditer relaxamus. Presentibus post viginti annos minime valituris, quas mitti per questuarios distinctius inhibemus, eas, si secus actum fuerit, carere viribus decernentes.

"'Datum Auignon iiii. Kal: Maii, anno primo."

"The chancel arch was rebuilt in 1843, the mouldings being copied from an old door near the west end of the church. This door was

probably the old west door, and was moved into its present place when, or perhaps after, the tower was built, as it is rather squeezed in.

"The chantry chapel on the north side of the nave was founded in 1299 by Thomas Button or Bitton, Bishop of Exeter, 1292 to 1307. The sedilia and windows are very good. There are several remains of monuments and other bits of sculpture now in the chantry chapel—the head and an arm of figure over the chancel arch, effigy of Robert de Button in chain armour, Emmote de Hastings, &c.

"Some of the bosses in the chancel roof are worthy of notice. Mr. Ellacombe, sen., thought the chancel roof was of the date of 1450. It is covered with tabulated stonework, afterwards covered with slate to keep out the wet better.

"The roof of the nave was put up in 1860-5, of oak and cedar.

"There is a ring of six bells, dating from 1633 to 1740, and in the basement a manual, in case, for chiming the bells, probably the first of its kind, though they are now so common.

"The measurements of the church are:—

	ft.	in.
Length of chancel	24	3
Thickness of chancel arch wall	2	9
Length of nave	93	6
Length of tower	17	2
	137	8
Height of tower to top of battlement	80	0
Ditto to top of the finial	100	0"

The tower was commenced in the time of Edward III., probably as one result of the pastoral letter written by Pope Gregory XI., in 1371, urging the faithful to contribute towards the repair of the church and chancel. The tower has corbels, carved with the heads of Edward III. and Queen Philippa. Mr. Ellacombe thought that the rebuilding of the eastern limb of the church followed in the 15th century, and that the tracery was similar to what we find at St. Mary, Redcliffe.

The vaulting of the church is of special interest, and there are well-carved bosses of our Saviour, St. Mary, a grotesque head, and two dogs. When the chancel was built the sacristy was added on the north side. There are several ancient monuments: (1) two small recumbent statues, figured and described in the *Transactions* of this Society, vol. iii., p. 37, and supposed to represent prebendaries or chantry priests. They are clad in surplice and almuce, or furred hood. (2) Two sepulchral slabs set up in the vestibule of the chantry chapel. On the shield of one are the arms of de Button, *ermine, a fesse gules*. This slab has been attributed to Robert de Button, *temp.* Henry III. The other is

inscribed ✠ Emmota de Hastings gist ici Dev de sa Alme eit Merci, . . The head of this lady and the cross fleury are in bold relief. These slabs are also illustrated and described in our *Transactions*, vol. iii., pp. 30, 32. There are other fragments. The rude stone coffin in which Button laid his father to rest in 1299 is also shown.

Mrs. Bagnell-Oakeley has kindly given the following account of these figures:—

"In the chapel on the north side of the nave are two diminutive sepulchral effigies of canons in their choir dress 3 feet long, viz.: A cope

BOSSES ON CHANCEL ROOF, BITTON.
Lent by the Rev. Canon Ellacombe.

worn over a surplice and almuce with long furred hood and ends. On the one figure the hoods of both cope and almuce are visible; the latter is lying on the pillow which supports his head, and the former looks like a large flat collar. On the other effigy the hood of the almuce is worn over the head like a cowl. Near these figures is the lower portion of another of the same size vested in alb and chasuble, and with the end of what looks like a pall showing over it. (Qy.—Was there anyone connected with Bitton who had the pall?)

"In this church there is a slab of marble which is partly recessed and partly in low relief. It represents a knight in an entire suit of mail without any mixture of plate, and a surcoat over it, early 13th century."

The remarks of the late Mr. E. A. Freeman on the occasion of a visit of the Somerset Archæological Association to Bitton, in 1876, and reprinted in our *Transactions*, vol. iii., p. 37, should be carefully studied.

SISTON COURT.
Photo. by Oscar Clark, M.B.

The members then drove on to Siston and visited the church and court. The manor of Siston was held in 1086 by Roger de Berkeley of Dursley. Anne had held it in the time of the Confessor. Robert de Waleran, who married Maud, daughter of Ralph Russell of Dyrham, was lord of the manor in the time of Henry III. From the Walerans it passed by marriage to the Plonkenets, who were seized of it till the time of Edward

III., when it was sold to the Corbets. Sir Gilbert Dennis married Margaret, sister and heiress of William Corbet, and the Dennises held it till the time of Elizabeth, when it passed after several sales to the Trotmans. Fiennes Trotman was lord of the manor in 1803. It is now in the possession of Major Fiennes Boughton Newton Dickenson. Henry Billingsley, who held it in the time of James I., is said to have entertained Queen Anne of Denmark here on the occasion of her visit to Bristol, in 1614.

Siston Court is a fine Tudor house, with a noble front, two wings, and turrets in the angles. It is said to have been built by the Dennises; and this statement is confirmed by the heraldic shields on the ends of the wings. Amongst them will be found: (1) *Gules, a bend engrailed azure, between two leopards' faces jessant de lys*, for Dennis; (2) *Argent, a raven sable, within a border of the 2nd bezantée*, for Corbet; (3) *Argent, on a chief gules three bezants*, for Russell; (4) *Lozengy argent and azure, a chevron gules*, for Georges; (5) *Argent, on a bend three mantlets or*, for Danvers; (6) *Argent four fusils conjoined in fesse*, for Newmarch; and many others.

The following sketch pedigree will be a guide to students of the Dennis monuments and heraldry:—

William Dennis married Margaret, daughter and heiress of Walter Corbet. Their son and heir, Sir Gilbert, married Margaret, daughter and heiress of Sir Morys Russell of Dyrham, who was heir of the Newmarches and Gorges.[1] Their son and heir, Morris, married Katherine, daughter of Sir Edward Stradling, and had son and heir, Sir Walter, who married Agnes, daughter and co-heiress of Sir Richard Danvers.

Their son and heir, Sir William, married Anne, daughter of William, Marquis Berkeley, and had two sons, the eldest of whom, Sir Morys, died in 1563, *sine prole*, leaving his brother, Sir Walter, his heir, then sixty years of age. Sir Walter married Margaret, daughter of Sir Richard Weston. Their son, Richard Dennis, by his wife Anne, daughter of Sir John St. John, of Bletsoe, had son, Walter, who married Margaret Pauncefoot. The manor had some years previously passed away from the family.[2]

The manor was purchased in 1650 by Samuel Trotman, and his descendants held it until the death of Fiennes Trotman in 1835, when it passed in marriage with his daughter, Harriet, to the Dickensons.

The Church of St. Anne, Siston, has a small Norman nave without aisles, an Early English chancel, and a western tower.

The 12th century south doorway has a tympanum on which is carved the tree of life with zig-zag, cable and circle mouldings. The shafts have fluted capitals. On the right is a fragment of a holy-water stoup. The north doorway, of the same date as that on the south, has been ruthlessly mutilated by the insertion of a wretched window. The object of greatest

[1] Sir Gilbert married first Margaret, widow of William Wyryot, and sister of William Corbet, his second wife being Margaret Russell. The Heralds' Visitation is not correct. Note by Mr. T. S. Bush.

[2] The Dennis pedigree is given in the Gloucestershire Visitation of 1623, p. 49.

interest in the church is a leaden font, of which an illustration, promised twenty years ago (see *Transactions*, vol. iii.. 35), is now given. It appears to be of late Norman design, and has figures of apostles and scroll work alternately under round-headed arches. Both the saints are in the act of blessing—one with three fingers, the other with the whole hand. One holds a book resting on his left knee, the other what appears to be a box

SOUTH DOORWAY, SISTON CHURCH.
Photo. by Oscar Clark, M.B.

on both knees. These figures are repeated. There are somewhat similar lead fonts at Sandhurst, Frampton-on-Severn, Llancaut, Tidenham, Down Hatherley, and Oxenhall. The leaden font at Slimbridge is dated 1664. Paley mentions some twenty-two others.

On the north side of the nave are three chained books. There is a priest's doorway on the south side of the chancel.

In the parish chest is an inventory of the time of Edward VI., signed by three of the King's commissioners, Anthony Kingston, Nicholas Arnold, and Hugh Westwood. The list contains four bells, a cope and vestment of blue worsted, a chalice and cover of silver parcel gilt, and two other pairs of vestments. The document should be given *in extenso* in our *Transactions*. On leaving the church the members were kindly admitted to Siston Court, a fine Tudor house, with a noble front, two wings and turrets in the angles, from whence they went on to Pucklechurch.

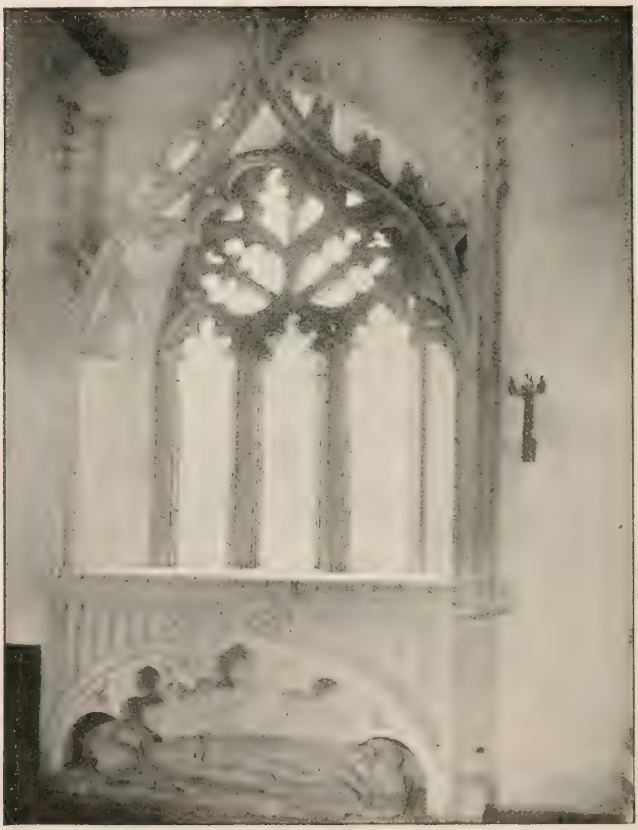
LEADEN FONT, SISTON CHURCH.
Photo. by Oscar Clark, M.B.

On arriving at Pucklechurch, the members lunched at the schoolroom, and afterwards visited the church. The Rev. S. G. Gillum received the visitors, and afforded them information about the church and palace.

The site of the Royal Palace of the Saxon kings, the scene of the murder of King Edmund by the outlaw Leolf, was also visited.

Pucklechurch, called in the Survey Pulcrecerce the "fair church," enjoyed the distinction of having a Royal palace, or Royal hunting-box, in pre-Norman times. Here, on St. Augustine's Day, May 26th, 946, Edmund, King of England, was celebrating the anniversary of the great

Apostle of the English, when Leolf, on whom the King had passed sentence of exile for robbery, took his place, unbidden, at the Royal table, and seated himself close to the King. The King beckoned to his cup-bearer to remove the outlaw, but Leolf resisted. Then the King rushed upon him and seized him by the hair, whereupon Leolf drew his dagger and plunged it into the King's breast, and he immediately expired. Heaps



NORTH-EAST WINDOW OF NORTH AISLE, PUCKLECHURCH.
Photo. by Oscar Clark, M.B.

of stone, half covered by the turf mark the scene of this tragedy. If permission could be obtained to excavate the site, much that is unknown about the plan of a domestic dwelling in the 10th century might be learned. Edmund was buried at Glastonbury, and the manor of Pucklechurch was bestowed on the monks of that Abbey by King Eadred

in 950 to say masses for the repose of the King's soul. They held it in 1086, and continued to do so till 1218, when they granted it to the Bishop of Bath and Wells. Edward VI. took the manor in exchange, and conferred it on the Earl of Pembroke. Then it was sold to Sir Morys Dennis, and by him to the Codringtons. Later on it came into the hands of a younger branch of the Dennises, who held it until the family name died out by the marriage of heiresses. In the 18th century the manor was held by the Woolnoughs and the Smyths.

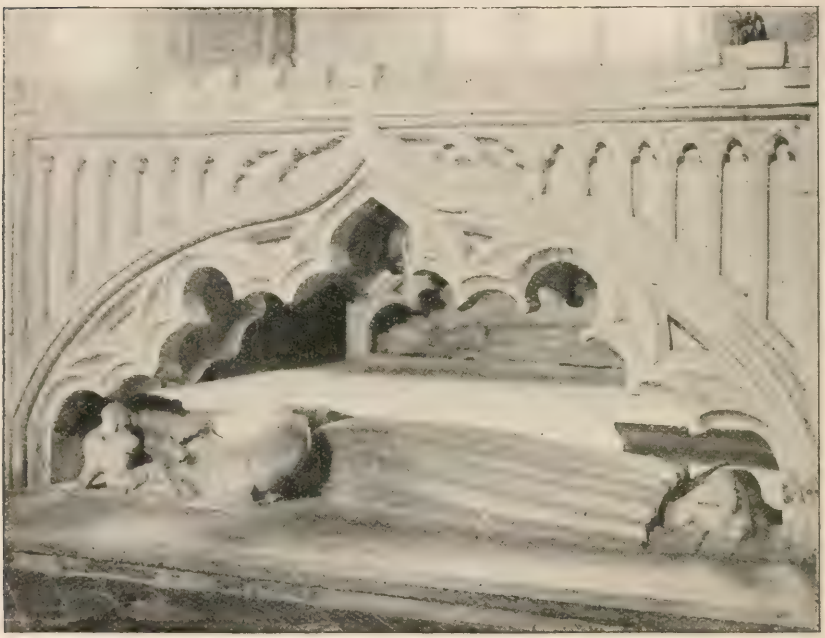
The Church of St. Thomas of Canterbury, Pucklechurch, consists of a nave with north aisle and porch, a chancel, and western tower.

The tower is Late Perpendicular, of three stages, with diagonal buttresses, moulded parapet, and four short crocketted pinnacles. The 15th century builders appear to have used the material of an earlier tower in the reconstruction, for the east and south walls contain portions of a 13th century structure. On the east side, above two round arches, are signs of a pent-house roof similar to that which we saw at Stanway. At the north-east angle is a turret staircase which slightly projects. There is a large south porch, with stone seats, very plain.

The nave has a northern arcade of four pointed arches, with octagonal shafts and broached bases. The north aisle has three plain lancet windows, and an eastern window of three cinquefoiled lights. The window next to it is Late Decorated, of three lights. The tracery is almost flamboyant in style and very graceful. In the north aisle are two Perpendicular canopied tombs, evidently later than the figures which now rest under them. One of these is built into the north wall, and contains the effigy of a lady wearing the "sideless"[1] garment which became general in the reign of Edward III. Under this dress is worn a tight-fitting côte with tight sleeves, and the girdle of the côte can be seen through the wide arm-holes of the sur-côte. Her head is covered by a reticulated head-dress and veil. This effigy appears to have been exposed to weather and otherwise illtreated. At her feet lies a dog without collar. Opposite this tomb, beneath the easternmost arch of the arcade, is another tomb like it, with panelled spandrells and an embattled cornice. Beneath the canopy lies the effigy of a layman, with angels at his head and a dog with collar and bells at his feet. It is a singularly beautiful figure of a layman, probably a merchant of the early part of the 15th century. He is dressed in a long gown, open in front at the bottom of the skirt and with a pocket-hole on the left side, through which his gypciere, or purse, is suspended to the belt of his inner tunic. The hood of his gown looks like a cape over his shoulders. The head of this figure is in a perfect state of preservation, with a calm, peaceful expression, which shows it to be the work of a good artist. His long hair hangs in curls on each side of his head, and his

1 This name was given by Mr. Planché to the sur-côte or côte hardie of the 14th century.

thick, bushy beard is not divided in two as usual. The feet are in slightly pointed shoes. For the description of these two figures we are indebted to Mrs. Bagnall-Oakeley. In Lyson's drawing of the tomb beneath the window we see the recumbent figure of this layman where now the lady lies. It would seem, therefore, that the lady and gentlemen have, within the last few years, changed places; one wonders why. Under the east window of the aisle is another tomb, removed from the south wall of the nave.[1] These tombs have been assigned to the Dennis family, but probably without sufficient reason. There are monuments to that family of a



TOMB AND EASTERN BAY, PUCKLECHURCH.
Photo. by Oscar Clark, M.B.

much later date: to Hugo Dennis, who died in 1559; to John Dennis, eldest son of Henry, who died 1638; and to his son John, who died in 1660. John Dennis, the elder, married Margaret Speke, whose arms were *or, an eagle with two heads, displayed gules;* and the younger married Mary Still, whose arms, *ermine, three roses gules*, appear on the Manor House as well as on the monument. Yet another tablet commemorates John

1 It would appear from *Trans.* iii., p. 35, that one of these tombs has very properly been brought back into the church from the churchyard since our visit in 1878.

Dennis, who died in 1682. The following epitaph to a deaf lady is worth recording:—

Here lyeth shee that could not hear, and yet
By signes and tokens would all vertues gett.
For when to church shee went with pious feare
She had the word although she could not heare.
Nature's defect with art shee made amends,
And had the Scripture at her fingers' ends.
Her worth was large: all language doth outvye
Beyond the compass of an eligie
Or marble test. But yet I were to blame
Should not I honour her that loved our name.

THOMAS CAM.

Two corbels in the aisle bear roughly-carved coats of arms: one *a knot* and perhaps *a hemp hackle*, and the other *quarterly: 1 and 4 a saltire; 2, three fleurs de lys;* and 4, *one fleur de lys.*

There is a little window high up in the south wall of the nave which lighted the rood loft. The chancel arch is Early English, with three-quarter detached shafts, and caps with conventional foliage. The base of the rood screen remained in 1850, but is now gone. The east window of the chancel has an original 13th century hood, but the tracery is new. There are two lancets and an Early English doorway in the chancel. A corbel in the north wall looks as though it had been removed from the east wall. Perhaps it supported a figure of St. Thomas à Becket.

From Pucklechurch the party drove on to Dyrham, where the Rev. W. T. Blathwayt had most kindly provided tea for their refreshment in his beautiful garden.

The name of this village in its old form carries us back to the earlier centuries of the Christian era, when Kingswood Forest, which extended from the banks of the Bristol Avon to the gates of Gloucester, was the home of beasts of prey. If Pucklechurch was the scene of Royal feasting and a king's death, Dyrham witnessed a struggle which may rank among the decisive battles of our land.

"This year" (A.D. 577), the Saxon chronicler says, "Cuthwine and Ceawlin fought against the Britons, and they slew three kings, Comail and Condidan and Farimail, at the place which is called Deorham, and took three cities from them, Gloucester and Cirencester and Bathceaster."

It may be that the Saxons hardly realised at the time the importance of their victory. Not only did it lay at their feet the large district ruled over by the three British kinglets, but it drove a wedge into the heart of the British territory, and permanently separated the people of Somerset, Devon and Cornwall from their brethren in Wales, Cumbria and Strathclyde.

A camp on Hinton Hill, in this parish, enclosing some eighteen acres, is supposed to have been the scene of the conflict. It is defended by a single mound and ditch, and the slope of the hill has been artificially scarped. Camden says the battle was fought here, and that the Saxons, not the Britons, as we might have expected, occupied the camp.

In 1086, William fitz Wido held Dyrham. Aluric had held it in the time of King Edward. The Survey also states that the same William held three hides of this manor, with which Durand, the sheriff, had endowed St. Mary of Pershore by the King's order. These hides Earl William had given to Turstin fitz Rolf with this manor.

A few years later Dyrham, together with lands in Coates, Hillesley and Aust, which Turstin had also held, passed to the descendants of Bernard Newmarch, who had come over with the Conqueror, and now lay at rest in the chapter house of St. Peter's Abbey, Gloucester.

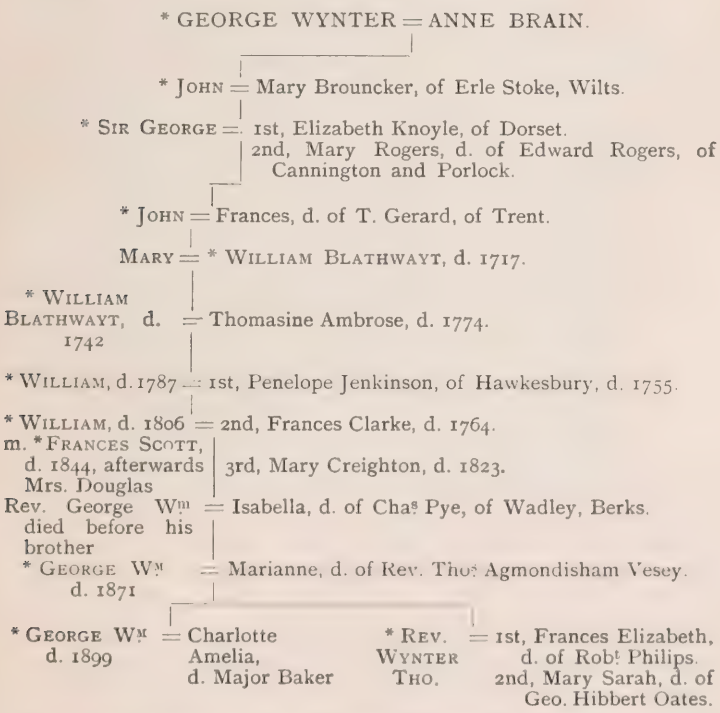
In 1216, James Newmarch died, leaving two daughters co-heiresses.

DYRHAM PARK AND CHURCH.
Photo. by Oscar Clark, M.B.

John Russel, of Berkshire, obtained their wardship, and bestowed the elder on his son, Ralph. Ralph gave Dyrham, with his daughter, Maud, in marriage, to Robert Walerand, Governor of St. Briavel's Castle. He died in 1272, *s.p.*, and the manor reverted to her elder brother, William Russel. His descendants held it until 1401, when Sir Maurice Russel died, leaving two daughters co-heiresses, the elder of whom, Margaret, married Sir Gilbert Dennis, and the younger, Isabel, Sir John Drayton. In 1422 Sir John Drayton sold his moiety of the manor to Sir Gilbert, and he thus became lord of the whole manor. In 1571 Sir Walter Dennis joined with

his son, Richard, in selling the manor to George Wynter, brother of William Wynter, of Lydney. He married Anne, sister and co-heiress of Richard (? Robert) Brayne, of Bristol. Their eldest son, John, sailed round the world with Sir Walter Raleigh, as his vice-admiral. He married Mary, daughter of Sir William Bruen, and had a son, Sir George Wynter, who succeeded him. He married Mary, daughter of Edward Rogers, of Cannington, Somerset, and died in 1638, leaving a son, John, then 16 years old.

John Wynter married Frances, daughter and co-heiress of Thomas Gerard, of Trent, and died in 1668, leaving an only daughter, Mary, who married William Blathwayt, Secretary of State of William III. He was also Clerk of the Privy Council to Charles II., James II., William III., and Anne. The following of their descendants have been lords of the manor :—William Blathwayt, d. 1742 ; William, d. 1787 ; William, d. 1806 ; George William, d. 1871 ; George William, d. 1899 ; and the Rev. Wynter T. Blathwayt.



An * marks those who have been lords of the manor, including Mrs. William Blathwayt, *née* Scott.

Leland, late in the reign of Henry VIII., thus writes of Dyrham, "wher Master Dionise dwellith, having a faire house of achelie stones and a Park. Dereham Village is a 2 mils from Tormerton. Ther is a fayr Manor place longinge to Mastar Dionise . . . Maurice ther buyldid a new courte. And Sir Guliam Dionys buildid another courte of late Yeres. The Dionisis hath here a fayr Parke and also a fair Lordshippe."

The present house is of two dates—Tudor and late 17th century.

There must have been a dwelling-house here from early times, but few traces remain of anything before the first half of the 17th century, when the bulk of the west front was built. There are a few remains of Tudor windows, and some other indications of an earlier house, especially a fragment of stone stairs in the cellar.

The park front was built after designs by Talman, and finished in 1698 by William Blathwayt.

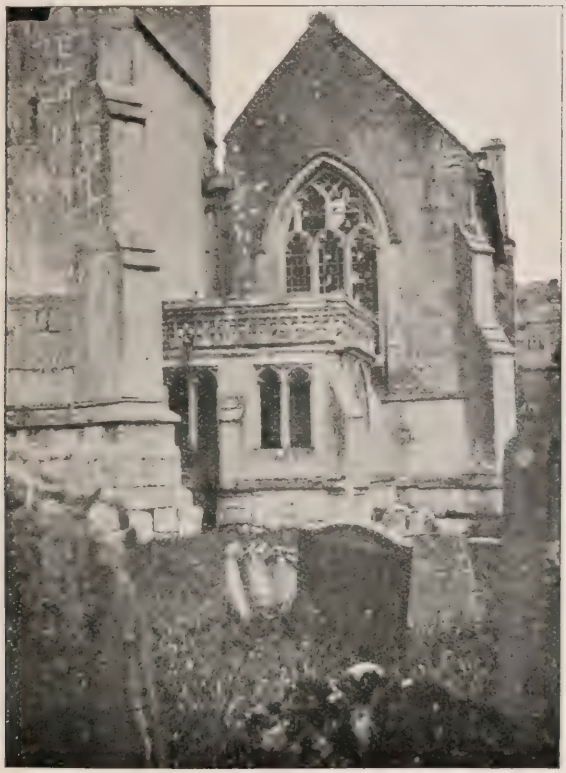
There are engravings of plan and east elevation in *Vitruvius Britannicus*, and one of Kip's views in Atkyns' *History of Gloucestershire*.

Some of the furniture still existing, and many of the pictures, point to William Blathwayt's connection with Holland, in early life and when Secretary of State.

From the bird's-eye view of it given in Atkyns' *Gloucestershire*, we can see that the Secretary, whilst in Holland with William III., acquired the Dutch taste for artificial lakes, cascades, and fountains. The garden is said to have been laid out under the supervision of Le Naute. On entering the house one sees everywhere the influence of King William's Secretary. The Royal portraits of Charles II. and James II., by Lely, and of William and Mary, Queen Anne, Prince George, and the Duke of Gloucester, by Kneller, were no doubt painted by his order. Amongst other treasures laid up by him and his descendants, are paintings by Hobbema, Hoogestraten, Vandervelde, Vanderneer, Honderkoeter, Baptiste, and de Heen, also a Murillo, copied by Gainsborough. There is some fine Gobelins tapestry representing Diogenes disputing with the philosophers, a set of Arras tapestry representing garden scenery, and a quantity of stamped Cordova leather. There is a splendid series of Wynter and Blathwayt portraits, and not a few valuable books and manuscripts, including a beautifully-illuminated chronicle. The Dutch picture-books and Delft pottery were, no doubt, all the Secretary's, and some of them perhaps the gifts of his grateful King.

The Church of St. Peter, Dyrham, consists of a chancel, a nave with two aisles, which are carried eastward to the eastern limits of the chancel, and a western tower, with a porch attached to its south wall. The County Histories tell us that the church was rebuilt during the lifetime of Sir Morys Russell, who died in 1401, and that a chantry chapel was "erected or prepared" for the services of a Guild founded by Sir William Dennis

and Anne, his wife, in 1520,[1] but we have plenty of evidences in the nave, north aisle and chancel that Sir Morys Russell, at the close of the 14th century, merely restored a late 13th century church, adding a western tower, a south arcade and a south aisle. Later on, perhaps at different dates, the aisles were lengthened and their original east windows inserted in the new east walls. The position of the graceful south porch, with its quatrefoiled battlement, is peculiar, but there was no room for it on the



SOUTH PORCH AND DENNIS CHAPEL, DYRHAM CHURCH.
Photo. by Oscar Clark, M.B.

south side of the south aisle. The stonework of this porch is not tied to that of the tower, and yet it seems to be as old, if not older. In the south wall of the tower, above the porch, are signs of a gabled lean-to roof. The west window of the tower has mullions in its head, like the windows at Stanton. The square-headed windows in the two

1 See *Trans.*, xiii., p. 6. On the Guilds of Sodbury and Dyrham, by F. F. Fox.

aisles are all of them late insertions. On the floor of the Dennis Chapel, which occupies the western half of the south aisle, is the noble brass of Sir Morys Russell and his wife Isabel, under a double canopy. Sir Morys wears a bascinet, camail and habergeon of chain mail, breast and back plates, jupon with straight edge, and plate armour over the arms and legs. His hands are protected by gauntlets, and gussets of

INTERIOR OF DYRHAM CHURCH.
Photo. by Oscar Clark, M.B.

mail are shewn at the armpits, &c. He has a miséricorde with which to give the *coup de grace* to a fallen foe. His feet rest on a lion. Lady Russell wears the nebule head-dress with a cap below. She is clothed in a mantle fastened with a cord. This brass is engraved in Boutell's Series, and is described by Mr. Haines and by Mr. Cecil Davis, Librarian of Wandsworth

Public Library. On the floor of this chapel also are many beautiful tiles, so similar to those we have been lately finding in the Presbytery of Hayles Abbey Church that it seems probable they were brought from thence after the Dissolution. At the east end of the south aisle is the tomb of George Wynter, who died in 1581, and of his wife Anne. Their effigies lie under a canopy supported by Corinthian pillars. There is a long Latin inscription with the following arms : *Sable, a fesse ermine*, for Wynter, *impaling quarterly :* 1 and 4 *sable, on a fesse between three bugles argent, a hemp-brake gules*, for Brayne, 2 *a cross raguly*, and 3 *sable, ten bezants, on a chief of the 2nd a lion passant ermine*, for Bridgman. On the south wall near it is a tablet with an inscription in memory of John and Frances Wynter, erected by their daughter Mary and her husband, Sir William Blathwayt. On the south side of the Dennis Chapel is a small, low window, the use of which it is difficult to explain, unless there was an altar near the west end of the Dennis Chapel. The pulpit is Jacobæan. There are distinct traces of a rood screen.

The Rev. W. J. BLATHWAYT very kindly gave the following description of the church :—

The Church of St. Peter, Dyrham, is of different styles, and consists of nave and chancel, with north and south aisles, extending flush to east end, the eastern part of south aisle opening into chancel with two arches. The tower is at west end of nave.

The earliest part of the body of the church dates from about 1280, and comprises an arcade of three arches, between north aisle and nave. The clustered pillar between first and second arches is a good example. The second arch was altered, so as to allow a rood screen to be carried across the entrance to the chancel, about 1470, with a wall to support it, where present Jacobean pulpit stands. There is no chancel arch. The east window dates from Edward IV., and contains four beautiful pieces of glass representing St. John Baptist, the Blessed Virgin, St. John the Evangelist, and another figure. That of St. John the Evangelist has been restored, the head being later. The north aisle seems to have been carried farther east at the time of the 15th century alterations, bringing forward the east windows of that aisle.

The tower is early 15th century, and a good example. It has a high arch into the nave, an original window to the west, over a doorway, with a flatter arched door to the south, opening into the porch, which appears to have been moved from its original position. It is the same date as the tower, and has a fine quatrefoil parapet on two sides. On the north of tower is a good square staircase leading to the ringing loft, from which access is gained to belfry and roof by ladders. There are six bells. On one of them the stops between the words of the motto are the heads of Edward I. and Eleanor, giving their date as probably of that reign. The

upper story has two windows, filled with pierced stone. In the south wall of church is a small window, low down, the use of which was uncertain. The whole church stands on a steep slope, levelled up from the south. The font is supposed to be Late Norman, the bowl being cushion-shaped and standing on a high shaft. In the south aisle are some fine encaustic tiles, some irregularly laid down as they were left at the last restoration in 1878, and others re-laid containing some fine designs. Many of them are very like some of the tiles at Hayles Abbey, and may have been brought from thence, or more probably made there with the Hayles tiles. There was a chapel in south aisle, remains of foot-pan and piscina being seen. In the 16th century there was a Guild of St. Dennis, which probably used this chapel. In south aisle there is a fine brass of Sir Maurice Russell and his wife under a canopy, 1401, figured in Bontell. In south aisle there is a fine freestone monument, with canopy and recumbent figures, to George Wynter, died 1581, and his wife; also a large mural tablet to Mary, wife of William Blathwayt, and her parents, John and Frances Wynter. In top of west window of north aisle is a piece of grizaille glass, showing the white rose of York.

The company, having duly thanked the hospitable owner, left Dyrham Park at six o'clock for Bath or Mangotsfield, the three days' meetings of the Society being concluded.

The Society is greatly indebted to the Corporation of Bath and Canon Ellacombe for the loan of blocks; to Dr. Oscar W. Clark and Mr. W. Middleton Ashman, for permission to reproduce their excellent photographs; and to the Corporation of Bath, for permission to adopt the description of the Roman Baths from the account of Bath issued by them, entitled "Bath as a Health Resort," compiled by Major C. E. Davis.

ROODS AND ROOD-LOFTS.

A Presidential Address Delivered at Bath by Mr. F. F. FOX, *President of the Society.*

[*The writer of this Paper, believing the reproduction of certain ambones, screens, and rood-lofts, in addition to those mentioned, would be of interest to Members of the Society, has ventured to introduce them.*]

The presidential addresses of those gentlemen who have preceded me in this chair have ranged over a wide field, and have been marked by an ability which I cannot pretend to emulate. Sometimes they have dealt with the archæology of foreign countries, sometimes with that of England; more commonly with that of the county of Gloucester, or with that particular portion of the county in which we happened to meet.

Last year our president, Mr. Gardiner Bazley, struck out a new line, and dealt in a very able and thorough manner with the history and manufacture of stained glass, especially of that in the windows of our churches. With such an example before me, I venture to follow suit, and to attempt to deal with the history of roods and rood-lofts, a subject which the Rev. W. Bazeley challenged some of us to take up at our last meeting.

It is in England an archæological subject, one that was very dear to our forefathers in the Middle Ages, and one which, though roughly handled at the Reformation, has in some quarters not quite lost its interest at the present day. The feeling of our forefathers found expression in Chaucer, who says: "I looking up into that ruful roode," and "That for us dyede on the roode-tree"; and again, "He lyeth in the grave under the roode-beme."

William Langland also, the author of *Piers Plowman*, who wrote about the same date, and who was a native of Shipton-

under-Wychwood, which we visited in 1897, says: "Mercie for Mary's love of heven that bare the blisful barne, that bought us on the rood."

The good and learned Bishop Douglas (1474 to 1522), in the prologue to his translation of *Virgil*, says: "Those large stremys sched upon the rude"; and in the prologue to the eleventh book, "Think how the Lord for the on rude was rent."

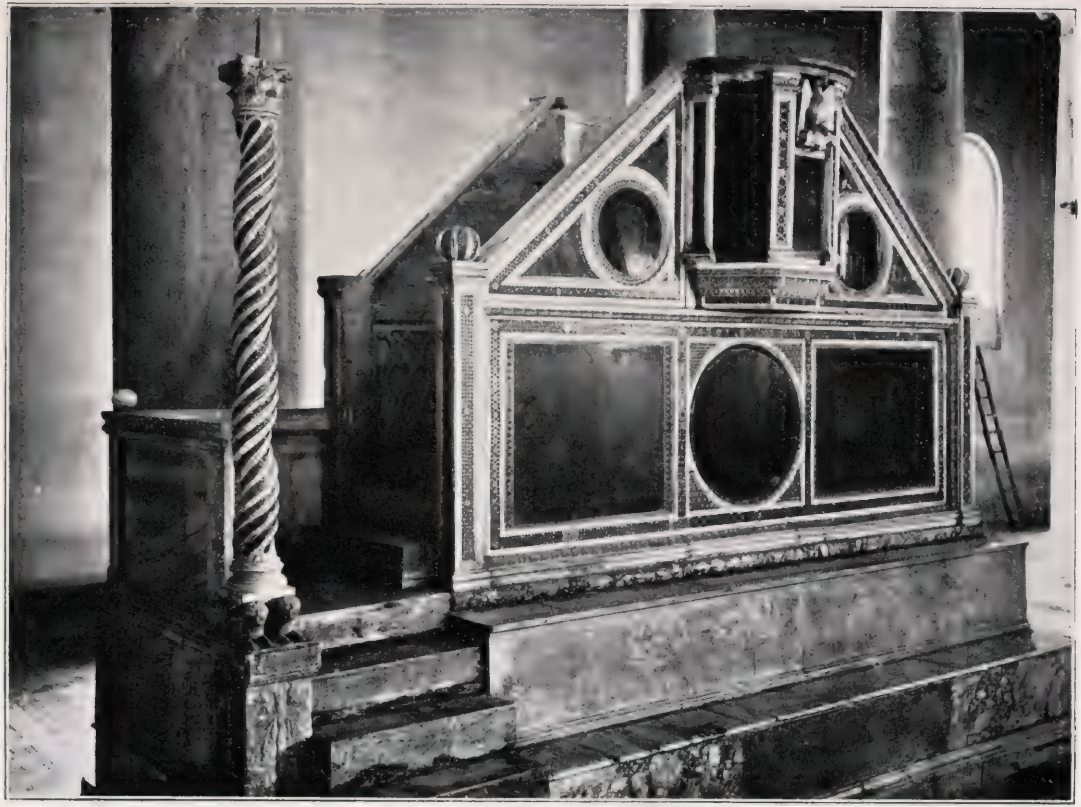
An unknown writer who is quoted in *Archæologia* says: "Wot you what spiritual mystery was couched in the position thereof? The Church (forsooth) typified the Church militant; the chancel represents the Church triumphant; and all who would pass out of the former into the latter must go under the rood-loft—*i.e.*, carry the cross and be acquainted with affliction."

It is necessary to trace the descent of the rood loft from the screen, and of the screen from the ambo, because they were introduced into the Church at different dates, and for not dissimilar purposes.

In regard to the ambo, it was the custom of the Primitive Church and long afterwards to sing the Epistle and Gospel from two stone pulpits placed at the lower end of the choir, from whence they would be conveniently heard by the people; and for this reason they were termed "ambones." Of these many examples remain in ancient basilicas, such as at San Lorenzo and San Clemente in Rome (*Figs.* 1 and 2). These pulpits were also used for chanting the lessons of the divine office; and from the reader asking a blessing before commencing with "Jube Domine Benedicite," they were commonly called jubés, which name was afterwards retained when these pulpits were exalted into a lofty gallery or screen reaching across the choir.[1]

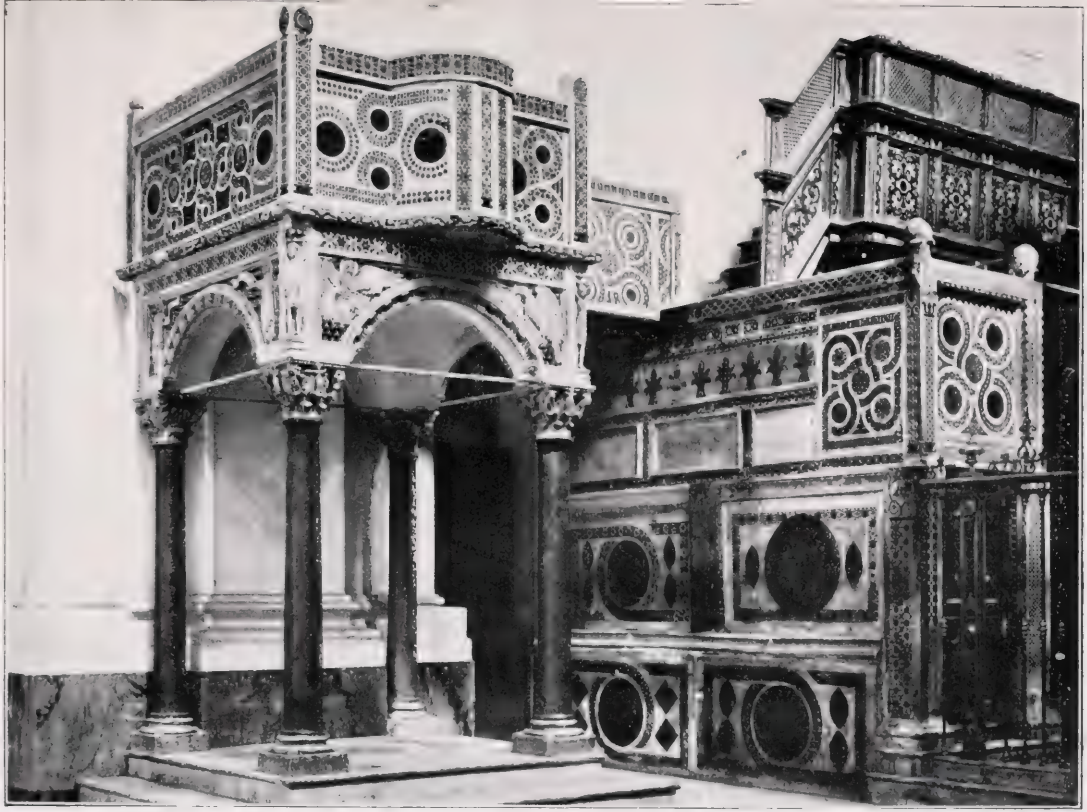
The ambo was an elevated tribune (pulpit, rostrum, gallery) placed at the lower end of the choir, between that

[1] Modern instances of ambones may be seen in the church of St. George, Brandon Hill, Bristol, set up during the vicariate of Archdeacon Norris.

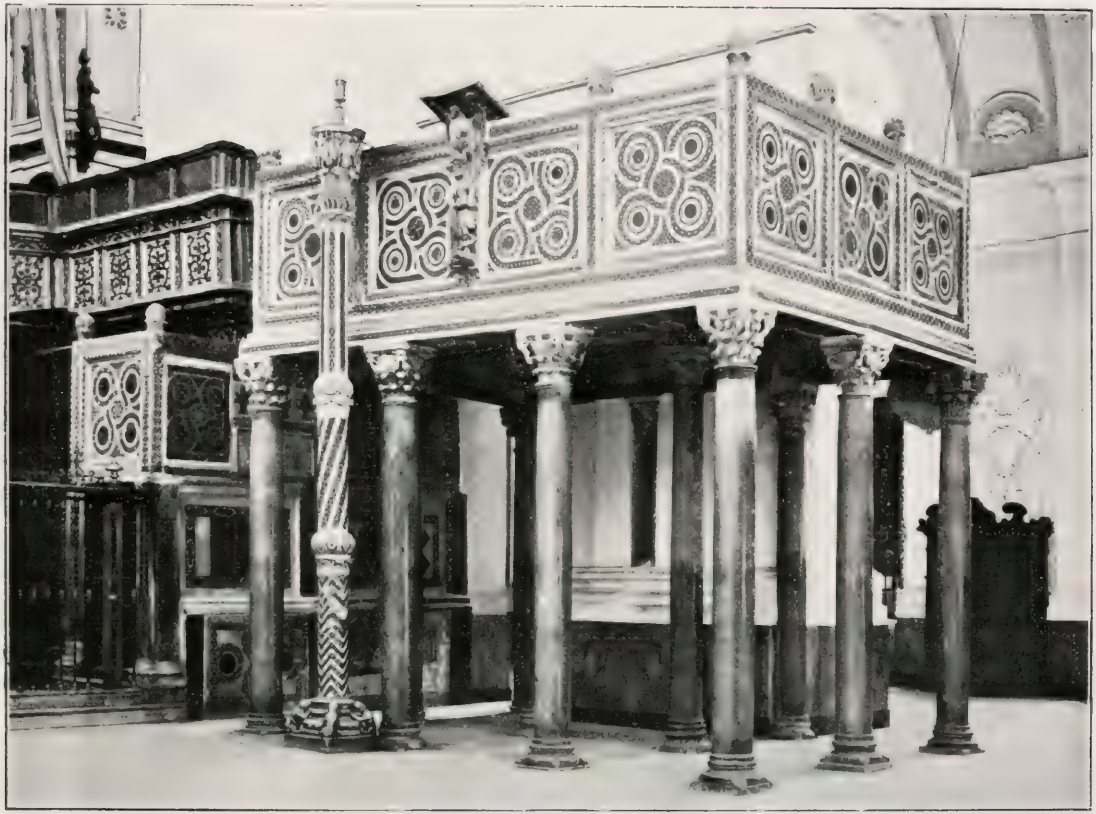


AMBO—S. LORENZO, ROME. (*Fig. 1.*)

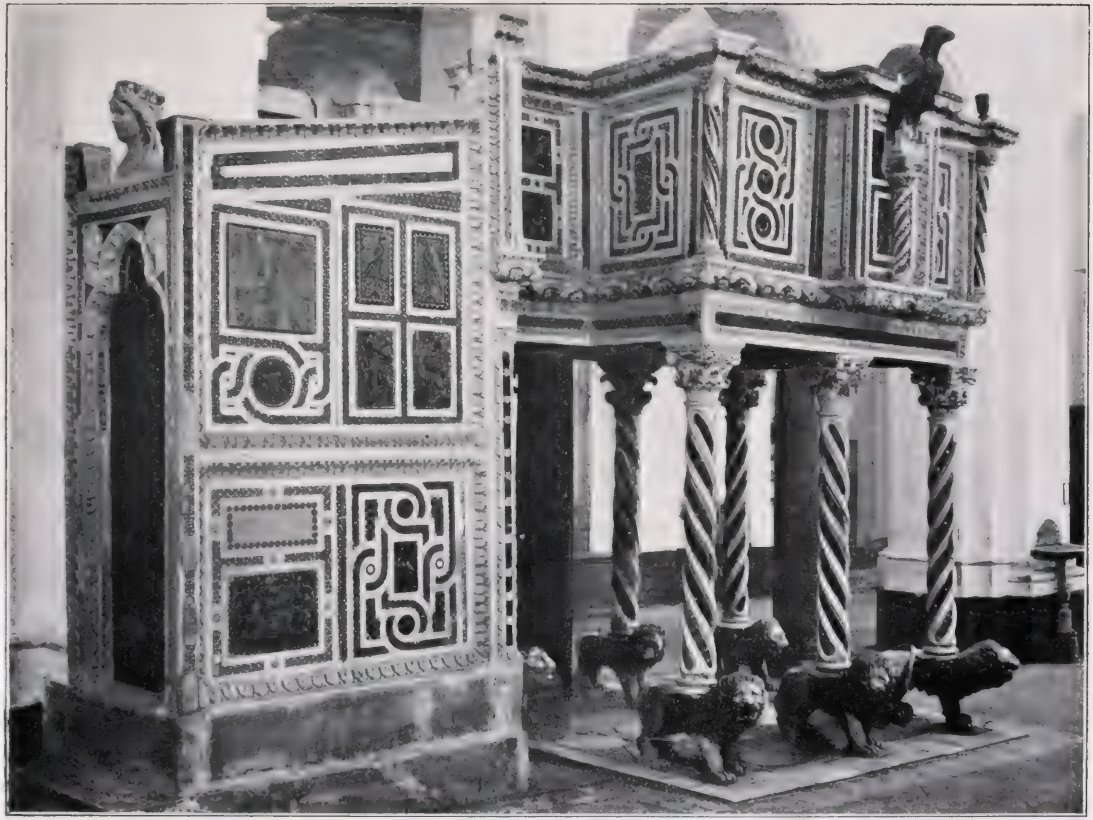
AMBO—S. CLEMENTE, ROME. (*Fig. 2.*)



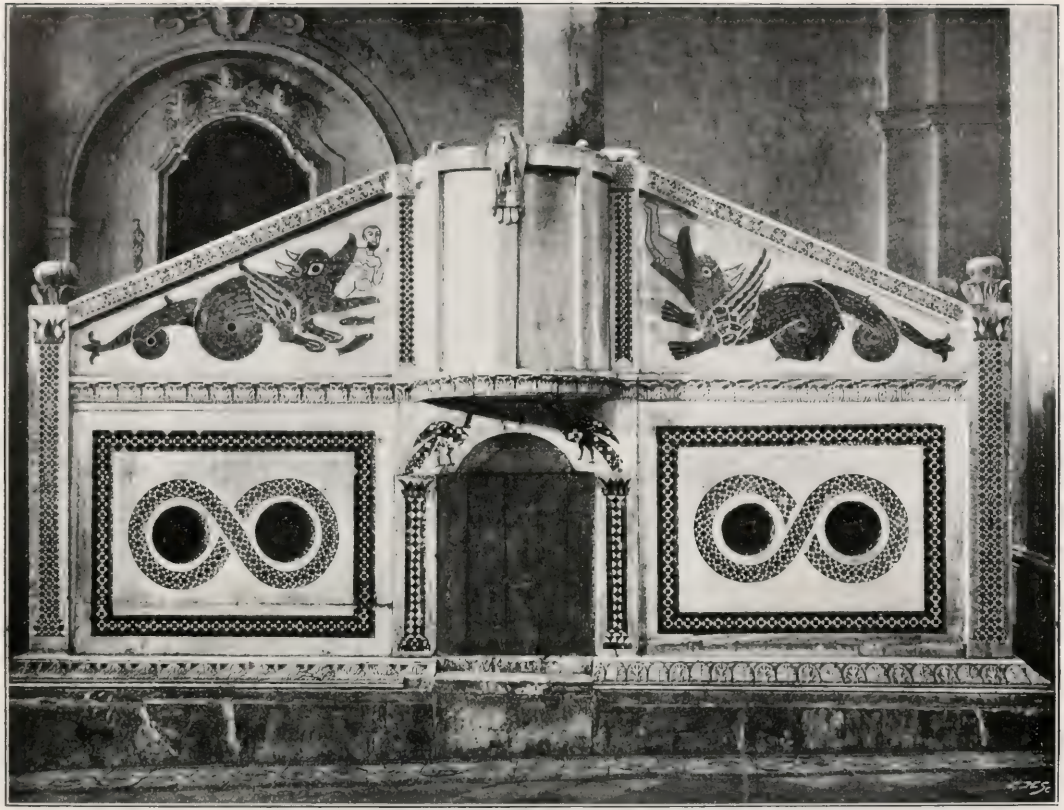
AMBONES—CATHEDRAL, SALERNO.



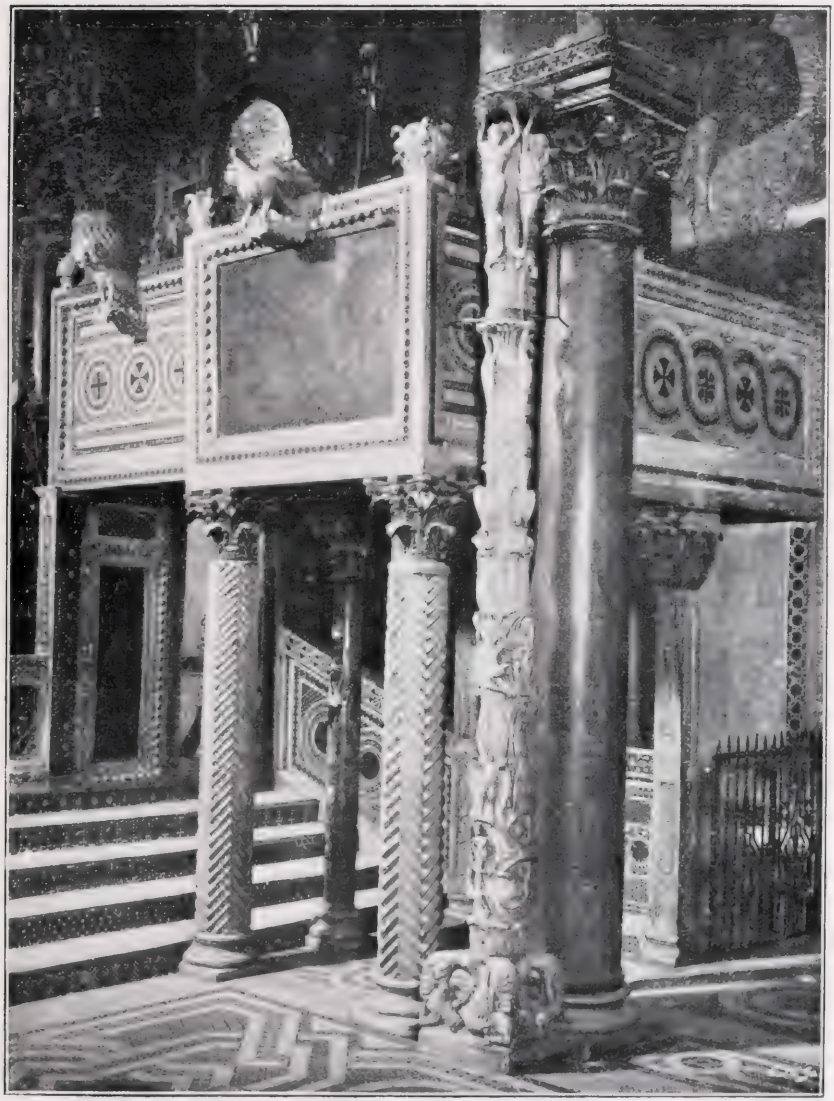
AMBO—CATHEDRAL, SALERNO.



AMBO—CATHEDRAL, RAVELLO.



AMBO—CATHEDRAL, RAVELLO.



AMBO—CAPPELLA PALATINA, PALERMO

AMBO—S. APOLLINACE NUOVO, RAVENNA.

and the faithful collected in the nave. Prudentius relates that the Bishop instructed the people from the jubé. Gregory of Tours describes the jubé of the Church of St. Cyprian. The Pope Martin I. caused the canons of the Council of the Lateran in the seventh century to be read from the height of the jubé of that basilica. The capitulars of Charlemagne order that the regulations of the Prince be read from these. The "Alleluia" and the "proses" or "sequences" were also sung from the jubé; but that custom was not preserved. From the time of Guillaume Durand (a Dominican, died about 1333) they were sung "in plano," and the lessons were only read from the jubé on great occasions.

It is certain that the ambones of the Greek and Latin churches up to the 14th century were not at all in form what we understand to-day by jubé. The ambones of San Vitale of Ravenna, San Marco of Venice, San Lorenzo without the walls of Rome, Sant Ambrogio of Milan, the Cathedral of Siena, San Miniato at Florence, are rather vast pulpits, able to contain several persons, than screens like those of our Western churches, which, dating probably from the 13th century, form a separation, a sort of raised gallery between the choir and the nave.

In the 13th century these jubés generally developed into screens, and served thus to screen the choir of the religious (monks or nuns). A screen was sometimes pierced with three doors, but oftener with only one. Two staircases led to the top—one to the right on entering, the side of the Epistle; the other to the left, the side of the Gospel—which did not prevent the upper gallery from being open from one side of the nave to the other, like a tribune. There does not exist in France a single jubé of the ancient period; and yet the abbey-churches, cathedrals, and even many parish churches possessed them. We must observe, however, that the cathedrals built towards the end of the 12th century and at the beginning of the 13th had not been arranged to receive jubés. It was only towards the middle of the 13th

century that the bishops or chapters raised jubés before the choirs of cathedrals.

Jubés were sometimes of very large proportions. That of St. Sophia at Constantinople was large enough to enable the emperors to be crowned in it, a function which would require space for a considerable number of persons. The French kings always ascended the "jubé" of Rheims Cathedral at their coronation; and on the accession of Charles X. of France in 1824, the ancient rood loft having been demolished, a temporary one was erected for the solemnity of his coronation.

The jubé was usually erected on a solid wall to the choir, and pillars with open arches towards the nave; and under these there were usually one or more altars for the parochial mass.

There is no country in Christendom where so many screens are still preserved and standing as in England. The counties most abounding in screens are Norfolk, Suffolk, Lincolnshire, Cambridgeshire, Somerset, and Devon; but every county presents some interesting examples, and it must be distinctly understood that every church, great and small, was originally provided with a screen. The cathedrals of York, Lincoln, Southwell, Wells, Exeter, Chichester, Canterbury, Rochester, Chester, Norwich, and Gloucester all have their old screens and rood-lofts standing, but of course the roods themselves have been taken down and have been replaced by organs. When roods and rood-lofts were ordered to be removed at the Reformation, screens were ordered, as we shall presently see, to be preserved; and their wholesale destruction chiefly took place in the earlier part of the present century, when modern church restoration began. Mr. Pugin pours the vials of his wrath upon the restorers of Durham Cathedral for destroying the screen, and he states that the Cromwellian Puritans did not injure the church so much as these restorers have done.

With regard to Devonshire screens, I give some extracts

from a pamphlet (4to, 1896) entitled *Rood and Other Screens in Devonshire Churches, Past and Present*, by Harry Hems, of Exeter (Member of the Royal Archæological Institute), read before the Society of Architects, at St. James's Hall, Piccadilly, on Tuesday, 21st April, 1896 :—

"Devonshire screens have a distinct family likeness. They are altogether more elaborate than those in Cornwall, and in some respects are different from those in Somerset. They are, in the main, built of English-grown oak. No chestnut was ever used. The cills upon which the rood-screens stood were nearly always massive, and often very effectively moulded. As a rule, these cills run right through from end to end, under doors and under panelling alike; thus they must have been constant stumbling-blocks to successive generations when entering or leaving the chancel. Stone screens are few and far between, and, save the splendidly conceived and superbly wrought one at Totnes (*Fig.* 3), few perhaps have such distinct merit as to call for more than passing mention.

"Staverton screen has 17 bays, and is 50 feet long and 15 feet high.

"The three screens at Collumpton are the most superb in the West of England (*Fig.* 4). The rood-screen is 54 feet long and has the three doors intact. High above the lovely rood-screen itself is an ornamental rood beam supported by angels. On the east side of this the iron stay is still remaining that helped to steady and hold the great crucifix beneath. This latter rested on the rood-loft. The Golgotha is now in the western tower. It has evidently been carved out of the butts of two oak-trees, measuring 9 ft. 6 ins. by 1 ft. 6 ins. by 1 ft. 9 ins. and 6 ft. by 1 ft. 6 ins. by 1 ft. 9 ins. The rood is hewn and carved to represent rocks, with skulls, cross thigh-bones, and shoulder-blades upon them."

The earliest wooden screen-work that I know of in this country is that of St. Nicholas, at Compton, in Surrey. There the chancel is low and groined, and of Norman architecture of the 12th century; and above is a loft

opening into the church westward, and it is across the western boundary of this loft, formed by the Norman chancel arch of considerable width, but of no great height, that this screen, consisting of a series of semi-circular arches springing from cylindrical shafts with moulded bases and caps, is placed.

Chancel screens of the 15th and early part of the 16th century are so numerous that I do not think it necessary to particularise examples. They exist from comparatively plain to enriched and elaborate carved work. The uprights are moulded, and support a horizontal cornice richly carved with vine leaves and grapes; whilst in the lower division of the screen the close panels are sunk, foliated in the heads, and are often painted with figures of saints bearing their peculiar symbols.

Many of these are still visible on the screens of churches, especially of those in Norfolk. The open work in the upper division of these screens is composed of carved Perpendicular tracery, supported and divided by moulded uprights, and finished with a horizontal cast moulding. Stone screens, both of the Decorated and of the subsequent style, are occasionally met with, as at Berkeley in Gloucestershire, and Yatton Keynell in North Wilts.

The word "rood" is derived from the Anglo-Saxon "róde," the cross; and it was early applied to our Saviour as fixed on the Cross, or to the Cross itself. The rood-loft surmounted the screen, and was of later date.

The references to the antiquity of roods are very unsatisfactory. One by a Byzantine historian of the 15th century, Georgius Codinus, who described an ancient cross over a screen in the church of St. Sophia, in Constantinople. He says it was of gold, enriched with precious stones, and furnished with chandeliers. The Abbé Migne quotes this writer in proof of the assertion that such crosses are "d'une haute antiquité," and assigns him, probably by a typographical error, to the 5th century, whereas he was really of the 15th. The quotation from Codinus appears, however, doubtful.

Anastasius states that a silver figure was set up in St. Peter s, Rome, by Pope Leo III. in 793. There is, however, nothing in the account given by Anastasius which leads to the conclusion that this crucifix was a *rood*, in the sense that it was raised aloft upon a beam or gallery. These two examples, the alleged description of Codinus, and the remark of Anastasius, are the only two facts that are adduced to support the great antiquity of the rood.

The Abbé Migne states that every screen between nave and choir was anciently surmounted by a rich cross, but *without* image of our Saviour; that such screens existed both in Greek and Latin churches; that down to a comparatively modern epoch churches were never constructed without them, either in France, Germany, or Flanders: and that every church in England had a screen down to the reign of Edward VI. There seems, however, to be no satisfactory evidence that in the early centuries these structures were surmounted by a rood.

The rood-loft generally projected in front of both sides of the screen, so as to form a sort of groined cove, the ribs of which spring or diverge from the principal uprights of the screen beneath, and this cove supported the flooring of the loft.

An earlier date than the 11th century can hardly be assigned for the introduction of the *rood* with the figures of St. Mary and St. John into our churches, though in illuminated manuscripts, somewhat before that period, we find such figures portrayed with a crucifix.

In the Abbey Church, Bury St. Edmunds, the rood and the figures of St. Mary and St. John, which were placed over the high altar, were, as we are informed by Joceline (who wrote his chronicle in the 12th century), the gift of Archbishop Stigand. The Archbishop died in 1072.

Another authority states that roods were not used much before the 14th century, and they were not common before the 15th.

We find occasional mention of the rood-loft in ancient

documents as in *wills*. Thus: *William Burges*, Garter King at Arms, at London, by his will, dated 26th February, 1449, leaving money, amongst other objects, for the making of a plain rood-loft in Stamford Church.

John Fane, of Tunbridge, will dated 6th April, 1488, left 10 marks for a rood-loft in Tunbridge Church, "provided the churchwardens build it within two years."

Joan, Viscountess Lisle, widow, by will dated 8th August, 1500, says: "I will that my executors cause to be made and set up on the high rood-loft in St. Michael's upon Cornhill, two escotcheons; one with the arms of my right noble lord and husband, the Viscount Lisle, and my own arms jointly; and the other of the arms of my right worshipful husband, Robert Drope, and my own jointly; to the intent that our souls by reason thereof may the rather be there remembered and prayed for."

Thurston Tyldisley, of Wardley, by will dated September 1st, 1547, left to the building of the church of Eccles, "if it be not built in my life, and a rodes-alter made," 10 marks.

Up to the middle of the 16th century some of the rood-lofts were most elaborate and costly specimens of composition and wood-carving. Probably the most perfect rood-loft in England is the one which still remains in the Chapel of St. Michael, Hubberholme, at the head of Wharfedale, in Yorkshire (*Fig.* 5). The following description is taken from Mr. Harry Speight's *Upper Wharfedale*,[1] p. 493:—"The most striking feature of the interesting interior, happily retained, is an original rood-loft separating the choir from the body of the church. There is no chancel arch. . . . The Hubberholme rood-loft is, therefore, of very special interest, and fortunately retains its original character almost entire. The ancient rood, or image of Christ on the Cross, has, however, disappeared, and in its place is the present plain cross, erected about forty years ago. The usual images of John and Mary are likewise absent, but their positions on each side of the cross are

[1] London: Elliot Stock, 1900.

indicated by the mortice holes still apparent in the beam. The length of the screen measured from the extremities of the supporting jambs is 18 feet, and the width is about 6 feet. The loft is open at the north end on the east or choir side, and has evidently been entered by a movable step or ladder. The east face of the loft consists of thirteen arched panels filled with Gothic tracery, and the support bears a running pattern in black, with a band below painted in its original colour—red. The open floor consists of stout oaken balks, their under surfaces presenting roughly hewn surfaces from the tree. On the south jamb, beneath the loft, is cut the Percy badge, a fetterlock within the horns of a crescent, and upon the north jamb is an annulet. They are repeated on the west front, together with the following inscription:—**Ano Dom mvclvm hoc opus erat Willmi Jake carpet:** Whitaker gives the date as MCCCCCLVIII, but the second and third letters appear to me to be a rude form of 'VC,' which, like the inscription over the tower entrance at Bolton Abbey, is intended to indicate five hundred, the whole date being one thousand five hundred and fifty-eight." As Queen Elizabeth ascended the throne on November 17, 1558, this must have been one of the very last rood-lofts set up in England.

In Long Sutton, near Langport, Somersetshire (*Fig.* 6), is a splendid wooden rood-loft elaborately carved, painted, and gilt, which extends across the whole breadth of the church, and is approached by means of a staircase turret on the south side of the church.

Banwell Church, in the same county, has also a rich rood-loft, which was set up in 1522 (*Fig.* 7).

Many rich rood-lofts were removed from conventual churches, on their suppression, to neighbouring parish churches, and there set up, as the beautiful screen which belonged to Jorvaulx Abbey is now in Aysgarth Church, in Wensleydale. A curious example of this may be seen in Llanwryst Church, North Wales, taken, it is said, from a neighbouring conventual church—Maenen. And here a

peculiarity, which may at the time of the removal have been designed, exhibits itself; for the crest or transverse beam which supported the images, as appears by the morticed holes, has been placed *eastward* of the loft instead of westward.

The furniture of the rood-lofts consisted of:—

1.—THE GREAT CRUCIFIX AND ROOD,

with its attendant images, stood always in the centre of the loft. The cross was usually framed of timber, richly carved, painted and gilt. At its extremities the four Evangelists were depicted, and frequently on the reverse the four doctors of the church. The Evangelists were sometimes represented as sitting figures in the act of writing, but more frequently under the form of the Apocalyptical symbols. The extremities of the cross usually terminated in fleur-de-lys, and its sides were foliated and crocketed.

The Blessed Virgin and St. John were the almost invariable accompaniment of the crucifix, but cherubim were occasionally added.

As these roods were of great weight, their support was assisted by wrought-iron chains depending from the great stone arch on the entrance to the choir and chancel, and the staples for these chains are frequently to be seen in churches from which the roods have been removed. The angel still exists above the chancel arch in Banwell Church which held the chain from which the rood was suspended.

Although the figures which I have mentioned were generally carved in wood, at Winsham Church, near Chard, in the county of Somerset, which is on the property of Mr. Francis Fry, one of the members of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society, there is a rood painted upon canvas representing our Blessed Lord between the two thieves, and with the two Marys below (*Fig.* 8). These roods were at one time not uncommon, but they have now nearly all perished. A description of the Winsham rood is given at the end of this paper.

SCREEN AT MINEHEAD.

SCREEN AT ALPHINGTON

STONE SCREEN AT TOTNES. (*Fig. 3.*)

SCREEN AND ROOD-BEAM AT COLLUMPTON (*Fig. 4.*)

ROOD-BEAM AND ROOD-LOFT AT MERE (WILTS.).

ROOD AND ROOD-LOFT AT NORTON FITZWARREN (SOMERSET).

ROOD AND ROOD-LOFT AT KEN (DEVON).

WOOLLCOTT AT MENTON, DEVON.

ROOD AND ROOD-LOFT AT DARTMOUTH

ROOD-LOFT AT HUBBERHOLME (YORKSHIRE) (*Fig. 5.*

ROOD-LOFT AT LONG SUTTON (SOMERSET). (*Fig. 6*)

SCREEN AND ROOD-LOFT—BANWELL. (*Fig.*)

2.—THE LECTERNS

were either movable brass stands, like those in choirs, or marble desks forming part of the masonry of the design. These are still left in many churches on the Continent. Those at the Frari at Venice are most beautiful, and, to come nearer home, in a rood-loft at Tattershall Church, in Lincolnshire, is a curiously moulded stone desk for the reader of the lessons.

3.—CORONALS

of silver or other metal were suspended on all the great rood-lofts, and filled with lighted tapers on solemn feasts. The maintenance of the rood-lights was a frequent and somewhat heavy item in the old churchwardens' accounts.

4.—THE COMMANDMENTS

were originally depicted on cloth and set up in rood-lofts; and not over the altars, or on the east walls of churches as ordered by Canon LXXXII. of 1604.

There is reason to believe that the Blessed Sacrament was sometimes exposed either on the rood-lofts or on the altars attached to them; but these expositions were only at considerable intervals of time, and only permitted on some great and urgent occasion, and they were then conducted with the greatest possible solemnity. Branches of trees were commonly set up in these rood-lofts at Christmas and Whitsuntide, and they were also occasionally decorated with flowers.

The principal use of these lofts was for the solemn singing of the Epistle and Gospel; the lessons and Great Antiphons were chanted. In the Greek Church the deacon read the diptychs from the rood-loft, and warned the catechumens and the penitents to depart before the mass, crying out, "Sancta Sanctis."

THE ROOD BEAM.

In the generality of wooden screens the breast-summer[1] of the screen forms the beam on which the rood is fixed and tenoned; but there are instances where the beam is fixed at some height above the top, as at Little Malvern. In Italy, at Siena Ovieto and several of the larger churches there is only a beam sustaining the rood, with images of the Blessed Virgin and St. John. Some of them are ornamental in design, but I do not think any of them older than the 16th century. Gervase, the Monk of Canterbury, in his description of the Cathedral built by Lanfranc, makes the following statement:—

"A screen with a loft (pulpitum) separated in a manner the aforesaid tower from the nave, and had in the middle and on the side towards the nave the altar of the holy cross. Above the pulpitum, and placed across the church, was the beam, which sustained a great cross, two cherubim, and the images of St. Mary and St. John the Apostle."[2] Lanfranc's Cathedral was built between 1070 and 1077, and the history of Gervase ends abruptly with the record of the enthronement of Archbishop Baldwin, on May 19, 1185. Lanfranc's screen stood where the screen stands now, between the two western pillars of the central tower.

Churchwardens' accounts contain many items of interest relating to rood-lofts and their images. Those at St. Margaret's, Westminster, show that in the reign of Henry VII., towards the end of the 15th century, it cost £38 to erect a rood-loft, and £10 to make a rood with Mary and John. These sums would represent at this date £380 to £400 and £100 to £120 respectively.

In the same parish, during the latter half of the 16th century, in Edward VI.'s reign, it cost 2s. 8d. for three days'

[1] This name is applied to a beam which supports the front of a building, as the beam which supports the front of a gallery, or the beam over a shop-front.

[2] Rev. R. Willis, *Architectural History of Canterbury Cathedral*, 37.

work in taking down the rood, Mary and John, and 1s. for cleaving and sawing them up.

In *St. Lawrence, Reading*, almost in the last year of Henry VII.'s reign, the churchwardens paid xx$^{d.}$ for setting up the rood, Mary and John, for removing the organ, and for making a seat for the player.

In *St. Mary Hill*, London, £5 was paid for painting and gilding the rood, the crosse, Mary and John, four evangelists and the three dyadems (*i.e.*, nimbus), with other items. . . . 10s. for making three diadems, and of one of the evangelists, and for mending the rood, the cross, Mary and John, the crown of thorns, and all other faults. Hardly a rood-loft is remaining of earlier date than the 15th century.

At South Tawton there are some queer entries in the churchwardens' accounts:—"Here followeth the acompte of John Burne, hed warden of the parish of South Tawton, made in the year of our Lord 1563, and in the 5th year of our sovereign Lady Elizabeth, Queyne of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c.

Item: Paid for the excommicat of my men because the rood-loft was not taken down, 3s. 5d.

Item: Paid for John Burne's excommunicat and hys rhydying thether, 2s.

Item: For taking down of the rood border, 12d.

Item: Paid for twystes and nales for the rood-loft door, 14d."

Of the rood-loft images, out of the general destruction by authority in the reign of Edward VI. and of Elizabeth, I know of one set only which has escaped. This is in the little church of Bettys-Gwerful-Goch, near Corwen, North Wales, where the image of the crucifix, of St. Mary and St. John, rudely carved in a wooden panel in low relief, and formerly affixed to, or in front of, the rood-loft, are still preserved and placed as a reredos over the holy table. The panel, 4 ft. 3½ ins. wide by 2 ft. 3 ins. in height, is divided into five compartments, each from 7½ to 8 inches wide. The central compartment contains a rude re-

presentation in low relief of the crucifix, the figure of which is very indistinct; on the sides of the head of the cross are the words "Ecce Homo." In the adjoining compartment is the figure of the Blessed Virgin in a veiled head-dress, a nimbus over her head, and the hands folded on the breast; by her side in the outward compartment are the pincers, thorns, and nails. On the other side of the crucifix is St. John, who is holding his right hand to his head, and beyond the hammer, the reed with hissop, and spear. The whole is a specimen of very rude carved work of the 15th or early 16th century.

Rood-loft altars (or, as they were sometimes designated, altars of the crucifix) were anciently very numerous. They were placed either westward of and adjoining the rood-loft screen, or up aloft and probably on the rood-loft. "Besides the altars at Peterchurch, in Herefordshire, the only rood-loft altars I have met in this country," says Bloxam, "are two beneath the rood-loft in the little church of St. Patricia, near Crickhowell, South Wales—one placed on each side of the entrance into the chancel, westward of and against the screen of the rood-loft."

In the account of the Lancastrian chantries published by the Cheetham Society we find a few references to these altars. The Parish Church of Croston, "The Chantrie at the roode altar" within the aforesaid church; the same at Standycke; and "The Chantrie at the altar of the crucifix within the Parish Church of Preston."

Of altars formerly existing over rood-lofts, that at Burghill Church, Herefordshire, in the south wall, high above the rood-loft has a piscina, indicative of an altar appended to the rood-loft. At Wigmore Church, Herefordshire, on the south side of the nave, high up in the wall is a piscina. At Maxey Church, Northamptonshire; at Deddington Church, Oxfordshire; at Eastbourne Church, Essex; at Tenby Church, South Wales, there is a rood-loft piscina. The piscina of rood-lofts have lately been brought to light in the chapel of Brownsover, and in the churches

of Bilton, Bitton, Chesterton, and Church Lawford, Warwickshire.

Paintings on Rood-Loft Screens and Parcloses.

These erections in many of our churches appear to have been covered with painting and gilding. Of these, the churches in Norfolk and Suffolk present the most perfect examples. The lower portions of these screens being panelled, the various compartments were painted, apparently in tempera, with single figures, mostly of saints distinguished by their several symbols.

In the third and fourth year of Edward VI., 1548, an order in Council was passed for "abolishing and putting away divers books and images." Images of stone, timber, alabaster, or earth, graven, carved, or painted, were to be defaced and destroyed. But a year before this images appear to be generally pulled down, as appears by the following passage from the chronicles of the Grey Friars of London: "Item: The 5th day after in September began the Kynges visitation at Powlles, and all images pulled down; and the 9th day of the same month the sayd visytation was at St. Bryddes, and after that in dyvers other churches; and so alle images pullyd downe, through alle Inglonde att that tyme, and alle churches whytte-lymed, with the commandments wryttyne on the walls. Item: The 17th day of the same month (November, 1547), at night, was pullyd downe the rode in Powlles with Mary and John, with all the images in the church. Item: Also at that time was pulled down, throughout all the King's dominion in every church, all roods, with all images, and every preacher preached in their sermons against all images."

In 1556 Mary passed an Act against those who demolish images and rood-lofts. In the first Act of Parliament in Elizabeth's reign the order of Edward VI. was re-established.

In the visitation articles of Archbishop Parker, 1569, we find enquiries were to be made, amongst other matters, as to whether the altars have been taken down; also whether

images and all other monuments of idolatry and superstition were destroyed and abolished; whether the rood-lofts were pulled down; and if the partition between the chancel and church was kept.[1] This last enquiry explains the fact why, when the rood-lofts were taken down, the screens beneath them were left. In the province of Canterbury, Archbishop Grindal, in 1576, enquired "whether your rood-lofts be taken down and altered, so that the upper part thereof, with the soler or loft, be quite taken down into the cross-beam, and that the said beam have some convenient crest put upon the same.[2] In some churches the Royal Arms, with heraldic supporters, were substituted, or those of the lords of the manor, or sometimes texts of Scripture.

In conclusion, I must acknowledge my obligation to the following works, from which I have derived much assistance in drawing up this paper:—Viollet-le-Duc's *Dictionnaire Raisonné de l'Architecture*, Pugin's *Chancel Screens and Rood Lofts*, Smith's *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, Bloxam's *Gothic Architecture*, and Parker's *Glossary of Architecture*.

REPORT ON THE PAINTING IN ST. STEPHEN'S CHURCH, WINSHAM, SOMERSET.

To Messrs. FROST and REED, Bristol.

Gentlemen,—I have made a thorough examination of the most interesting painting in Winsham Church, and find that, although it is in a most deplorable condition, there is happily enough of original paint left to ensure, if wished, the complete restoration of the work. It is, I should think, of the latter end of the 15th century, judging by the costumes of the two female figures, especially noting the hanging lapels on the sleeves and the wimple of the Virgin; also, the arrangement of the drapery around the necks and shoulders of both the figures proclaim the picture English work of that date.

The care shown in the attempt to realise the anatomy of the other three figures is surprising for so early a work; the bosoms and nipples, together with the short ribs and the abdomen, are drawn with fair correctness; and the arrangement of the hair and beards is done with good feeling for expression and balance.

[1] Cardwell, *Documentary Annals*, i. 357. [2] *Ibid.*, i. 398.

THE ROOD AT WINSHAM CHURCH *(Fig. 8.)*

Unfortunately the central figure has suffered the worst. The drawing of the chest and lower part of throat, I fear, is entirely gone, and the feet are barely distinguishable. The crown of thorns is discernible, and the blood therefrom; also the drops of blood from the spear-thrust; but the wound itself I could not be certain of unless the picture was cleaned.

The Rev. D. H. Spencer says that the general opinion of antiquarians is, that the picture originally came from a monastic establishment (say Ford Abbey), and was cut into the arch over the rood; but I venture to suggest that the painting was painted for the position and shape. My opinion I base on the general design of the picture, for there is no evidence of other figures at the side, or of any objects by which the composition would be extended. But I think most conclusive of all is the *drawing* and balance of the background, which was evidently a conventual landscape with hillocks and grass and flowers, and the tufts of grass and flowers are all complete within the shape—none being cut, as would probably be the case if the picture had been reduced to fit the opening. Also, I think a cloud each side of the central cross balanced the top half of the composition; but I should not care to say much on that point, as the top portion is in a very bad state, and there is one or two painting marks above the left arm of the centre figure, which might, if this picture were cleaned, give more evidence of what originally was there.

I should also like to call your attention to the fact that the work is very badly covered with whitewash, and nailed against the wall without any protection. The fact needs no comment.

I do not know who should take the matter up—the Church, the Archæological Society, or the Lord of the Manor. But what should be done without delay is the removal of the whitewash and dirt (the missing portions replaced, if done with due regard), and the picture varnished with a good, sound mastic, applied thinly, and then enclosed in an oak bead with British plate-glass over it; the back of the picture to be treated against damp and worm before closing up. But you, of course, have no need of counsel in such a matter.

Yours truly,

W. G. Lott.

June 28th, 1900.

HERALDIC NOTES MADE BY F. WERE DURING THE EXCURSION TO TODDINGTON, ON JUNE 7TH, 1900.

HAILES CHURCH TILES.

"Gyronny of eight arg., &c. . . . within bordure of the 1st roundelly . . .;" query, Bassingborne or Peverell.

STANTON CHURCH.

S. Transept: "Az. on a fess between three anchors or as many lions' heads erased sa," *Wenman*. The monument is to *Wynniatt*, but Atkyns says Wenman Winniat was lord of Little Dimmock, so no doubt he was connected with the Wenmans and used their coat; and this is borne out by two John Wyniates being "disclaimed" in the Visitation of 1623; however Atkyns and old Gloucestershire Family Coats, 1792, say Winniat bore "Gu. a fess vairy,"—the first "az. and or," the second "or and az.," most likely the last,—so it looks as if they got a grant after this, and yet did not use it so late as this monument, 1810. I read the field as "Azure," but all the authorities say "Sable;" at any rate the lions' heads were of the last; impaling, "Or a lion ramp. sa. collared and chained of the first," *Phillips*. The Rev. Reginald Wynniatt married Frances third daughter of Thomas Phillips, co. Hereford.

"Ermine three lions (poor drawing) ramp., 2 & 1 gu. within bord. engr. sa.," *Kirkham*—not Kirkman, *ob.* 1705; they were a Devonshire family: impaling "Arg. six leopards' faces, 3, 2, 1, vert," *Izod*. The Rev. Henry Kirkham married Sarah, fourth daughter of the Rev. Henry Izod, *ob.* 1703.

E. Window: 1. Query a shield made up of odds and ends. 2. "Az. a saltire arg. quarter pierced gu. charged

with a cross ? patty of the second," ? *Winchcombe Abbey*. The cross is not a true patty, being slightly indented like a Maltese, three-fourths of the way towards a cross moline. I am unable to say the date of this shield, but it looks semi-modern, and therefore its authority is doubtful; but this class of coat, varying in reading from "Az. on a saltire or a cross patty of the field" to carvings in stone at Winchcombe town and church, "a saltire on a roundel a cross" and "on a lozenge a cross," seem to belong to the family of *de Winchcombe*; the Abbey coat, according to authorities, being a variation of *Mortimer*, viz.: "Barry of six arg. and az. on a chief of the last, two palets between as many gyrons of the first, an inescutcheon (and here comes the variation) of the last charged with a cross croslet fitchy gu." There seems also to be a reading of the inescutcheon, "Gu. and the croslet fitchy arg.," *Winchcombe Abbey*.

Two Shields: 1 *Izod* as before, impaling "Or on a fess az. three garbs of the first," *Vernon*. The Rev. Henry Izod, rector of Stanton, *ob.* 1650, married Alice, daughter of the Rev. Richard Vernon, rector of Hanbury, Worcestershire, *ob.* 1642. 2. "Partly defaced, a lion's face between three crosses patty fitchy;' really the field "gu.," the face and crosses "arg.," *Parsons*, impaling *Izod* as before. Richard Parsons, Chancellor of Gloucester, married Maria Izod, *ob.* 1690.

(Owing to stress of time I failed to see the Warren coats in the church and mansion mentioned in the programme. I just saw the tiles mentioned, but had not time to read them.)

STANWAY HOUSE.

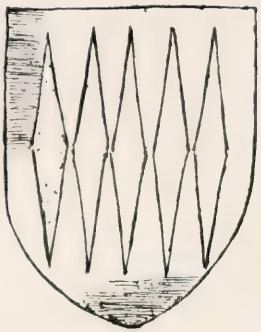
Hall Roof: Quarterly, 1 and 4, "Or between two bends an escallop in chief sa.," *Tracy*. The bends ought really to be "gu." for Tracy of Stanway. 2 and 3, "Az. a cross croslet fitchy or;" query, I can find no heiress answering to this.

Quarterly, 1 and 4, "Or a lion ramp. gu.," *Wemyss.* 2 and 3, "Arg. a fess az. within a tressure flory gu.," *Charteris.* This is a variation from the older coats; generally Charteris has the royal double tressure and is the 1 and 4, and the 2 and 3 have the Wemyss with the lion sa.

Quarterly, 1 and 4, "Arg. human heart, gu. crowned ppr. on a chief az. three mullets or (generally of the first)," *Douglas.* 2 and 3, "Az. a bend between four crosses croslet fitchy 1 and 3, Or;" query, generally six crosses croslet fitchy, *i.e.*, 3 and 3, *Marr*, and the whole within a royal double tressure for Marquis of Queensberry.

S. face of House in stone: *Tracy* as before, impaling "Arg. a cross sa. fimbriated of the first, and bordered with eight semifleurs de lys between four mullets pierced all of the second," *Atkyns.* John Tracy married Anne, daughter of Sir Robert Atkyns, 7th August, 1699. (According to Kip's plate the barn has been moved from the N. to where outbuildings were near the church, since his time, and is remarkable for the finials, suggesting leg and spur, but certainly not it.)

I.



PERCY

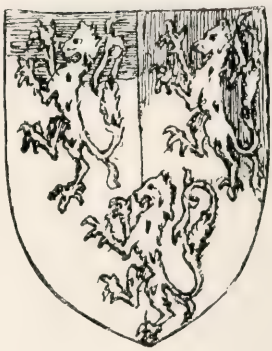
II.

TROPENELL

IV

ROCHE.

III



ROUS.

V

LUTLOW

VI

PLKSHAY

HERALDRY, AS READ BY F. WERE DURING THE BRISTOL AND GLOUCESTERSHIRE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY'S MEETING AT BATH.

BATH ABBEY.

"(Sa.) a chev. between three eagles displ. (arg.) on a chief (or) a rose seeded between two lozenges (gu.)," *Bird.* Collinson, Bath I. 58 & 63, gives the coat but no tinctures; these I have taken from a grant by Brooke, York Herald 1592, as stated in *S. & D. N. & Q.*, IV. 152.

BRADFORD-ON-AVON.

Entrance to the Hall: (1) "(Arg.) three bars (gu.)," *Moulton;* (2) "Per pale arg. & erm. three bars (gu.)," *Moulton* of Plympton. Crest: Cubit arm erect habited (gu.) cuff (erm.)? holding in the hand a chaplet of roses all proper. Virtute non astutia.

HINTON CHARTERHOUSE.

Over door of Mansion: " . . . a chev. engr. erm. between three sinister gauntlets apaume . . ." *Robinson.* Collinson, III. 370, says the tinctures are: "Sa. & arg.," impaling "three arrows, 2 & 1." Collinson says spears and the tinctures "gu. & or."—query *Amherst* or *Hales.* Crest: Out of crescent a dex. hand holding battle-axe fessways.

CHALFIELD HOUSE.

Two: "(Gu.) a fess. engr. erm. between three griffins' heads erased (arg.)," *Tropnell.* Crest: Griffin's head affrontee couped (az.) beaked (or). Supporters: Two griffins' sejant.

Crest: on helmet out of naval coronet (or) a dexter cubit arm erect (proper) charged with cross patty (gu.) holding in hand a trident in bend sinister, points downwards (of the first), *Burrard.*

"(Az.) a lion pass. (arg.) between in chief two estoiles and in base a cross croslet fitchy (of the second)." This was all I read, the rest being hidden by ivy, but it reads: "On a chief (or) two lions ramp. combatant (gu.) supporting a dex. hand apaume couped (of the last)," *Burrard*. Motto: Persevere. Crest: A portcullis; query, Somerset.

CHURCH.

On stone screen: (1) *Tropnell* as before impaling "(Az.) five fusils in fess (or)," *Percy*. Sir Walter Tropnell married Catherine, d. of Sir William Percy of Great Chalfield. (2) *Tropnell* impaling "(Per pale az. & gu.) three lions ramp. 2 & 1 erm,." *Rous*. Roger Tropnell married Christian, d. of Sir John Rous. (3) *Tropnell* impaling "Arg. a chev. between three martens' heads (may be foxes') erased sa.," *Ludlow*. Thomas Tropnell, *ob*. 1490, married Margaret, d. of William Ludlow. (4) *Tropnell* impaling "Azure three roaches in pale within bordure arg.," *Roche*. The bordure goes round the impaling, which is bad, as Mr. Gill pointed out. Henry Tropnell married Edith, d. of Walter Roche.

BITTON CHURCH.

Hatchment in Tower: "Or a lion ramp. sa.," query *Matthew*, impaling "Or a bend ? gu. between two lions ramp. sa., query *Osborn*.

Nave: "Per pale arg. & gu. a double-headed eagle displ. az." This is false; it is generally "Per pale or & gu. a double-headed eagle displ. per pale az. & of the 1st," otherwise "or & gu." counterchanged, *Stone*, Francis, 1658, and "erm. two bars gu.," query *Wroxshalle* of Dorset, as the Stones were of Dorset. Crest: query Ram, may be a Spaniel pass.

1 & 6, "Argent a lion rampant reguardant sable," ? *Jones*. Atkyns says "Jones of Winterborn." Bigland says "a lion rampant for Jones." Papworth, "Or a lion ramp. reguard. sa. armed and langued gu.," *Jones*, Wales. 2, "Azure a stag's head cabossed or." *Query*. Bigland reads the same. 3, "Argent

three flies erect 2 & 1 sable, may be proper." *Query*. Papworth says "Erm. three harvest flies gu.," *Watkin*. Bigland read this "Arg. three acorns az." *Query*, not in Papworth. 4, "Argent a cross engrailed flory at the ends between four Cornish choughs proper," *Edwyn* or *Owen*, Wales. Bigland read this as "Sable a cross coupé engrailed or between four martlets argent." *Query*. Papworth does not give it. 5, "Sable on a fess wavy between three waterbougets or as many crosses patty of the field." *Query*. Bigland says "On a fess wavy between three waterbougets 3 cross croslets." *Query*. Bigland gives no names to the different quarterings, and as his readings and the present ones differ, I am afraid this shield is beyond recognition. The monument says it is in memory of Jones of Hannam, *ob*. 1697.

Below are two shields: 1, *Jones* as before. 2, "Quarterly argent and gules on second and third quarters a fret or, over all a fess azure within bordure engrailed sable," *Norreys* (generally without bordure). Monument says: "Catherine Bethell widdow one of the daughters of Sir Francis Norreys, *ob*. 1692." Bigland does not give these last two.

Porch, W. wall: On Lozenge with helmet and crest of kneeling Eastern Prince. Quarterly, 1 & 4, *Newton*, garbs. 2 & 3, *Newton*, shinbones impaling *Eyre*.

Window, Chancel N.: (1) Quarterly, 1, "Arg. lion ramp. gu." 2, "Or a dex. arm couped fessways holding a cross croslet fitchy gu." 3, "Or a galley, oars in saltire, sails furled sa., flags gu." 4, "Vert a salmon naiant in fess arg.," *Macalester*. (2) "Az. the Virgin Mary standing, a glory round her head, holding in her dex. arm the infant Jesus head radiant, in her sin. hand a sceptre all or," *Bishopric of Salisbury* impaling "Arg. a bend between in chief a unicorn's head erased in base a cross croslet fitchy gu.," *Denison*. (3) "Arg. ten torteaux, 4, 3, 2, 1," *Bishopric of Worcester*. (4) "Az. two keys in saltire arg.," ought to be "or," *Bishopric of Gloucester*.

S. Window: *Bishopric of Gloucester* impaling "Sable three ducal coronets in pale or," *Bishopric of Bristol*. The

last two impaling "Gu. a chev. between three lions' heads erased arg.," *Monck.*

Sacrarium, N.W.: "Gu. two wings in lure or," *Seymour.* Crest: Phœnix or in flames ppr.

Window, N. Nave: "Arg. on a chev. between three stags courant sa. (? as many crosses patty of the first)," *Ellacombe*: generally "Arg. a chev. engr. between three stags courant ppr." Crest: Stag's head erased arg. collared gu. chained or. Motto: "Nulla fraus tuta latebris."

N. Wall: "Per pale gu. and az. a lion ramp. double-tailed arg.," *Rowswell.*

N.W. Chapel: Quarterly 1 & 4, "On chev. az. three garbs gu."; really "Arg. on a chev. az. three garbs or," *Cradock Newton.* 2 & 3, "Arg. two shinbones in saltire az. and gu."; really "Sa. two shinbones in saltire, sinister surmounted by dexter, arg.," *Newton.*

Vestry, Window: Really "Arg. a cross flory sa. on a canton gu. a wolf's head erased of the first," *Pearsall*: impaling "Sa. guttee d'eau three roses arg. seeded or," *Still.* Crest: Boar's head erased close gu. crined and tusked and charged with a cross flory or, langued az." In Mr. Jewers' *Wells Cathedral*, p. 150, is a pedigree of Pearsall, in which father and son both married Stills.

SISTON CHURCH.

Brass, N.W. Nave: Quarterly, 1 & 4, "Vert on a chev. between three griffins' heads erased or five mullets of the first." Papworth says mullets "sa.," *Deane*, Hants. 2, "Or a lion ramp. reguard. sa.," query *Morgan.* 3, "Gu. a lion couchant guard. or, on a chief arg. three crescents of the first," *Deane*, London: impaling dimidiated coats. 1, "Gu. three eagles displ. 2 & 1 or," query *Limesey.* 2, "Per bend ? arg. and az. two anchors, one in chief flukes upwards, one in base flukes downwards ? counterchanged," query *Mends.* Crest: Griffin's head erased collared and ringed or, between two wings erect vert. Motto: "Fortiter et fideliter."

S. Transept: "? Arg. a saltire sa. between four crosses

croslet . . ." Mont. says *Ivyleafe*, 1814. I cannot find this family in reference books or the coat: impaling "Gu. a label between three ? bezants." "Gu. three bezants a label of as many points arg.," is *Hidon*.

Chancel: "Per fess az. and erm. a pale counterchanged three pheons arg.," *Nutt*. Escut. of Pretence. ". . . a chev. gu. (may be sa.) between three garbs," query. M. said Tymewell, but that is quite different. Crest: "On cap of dignity turned up erm. a pheon or between two wings arg."

Quarterly, 1 & 4, "Arg. a cross between four roses gu.," *Trotman*. 2 & 3, "Sa. three bars and in chief as many cinquefoils or," *Filmer*: impaling "Per chev. sa. and arg. in chief three leopards' faces or," *Litchfield*.

SISTON COURT.

"(Gu.) three leopards' faces 2 & 1 (or) a bend ? engr. (arg.)," *Dennis*. There are many readings of this coat, some false, but this seems to be true.

Quarterly, 1 & 4, "(Arg.) on a bend (gu.) three martlets (or)," *Danvers*. 2 & 3, "(Gu.) two bars (or)," perhaps "Barry of four (gu. & or)," "on a chief (arg.) two bucks' heads cabossed (ppr.)," *Barrandyne*, Aubrey and Jackson, 221 n.; others *Barendes*. Papworth's and the Armory's being false, as 1 & 4 were originally *Bracester* or *Branchester*; the 2 & 3 may have come in with that family, as I can find no Danvers-Barendes marriage. Glos. Vis., 1623, p. 49, wrongly reads and attributes this to *Popham*.

Quarterly: 1, *Dennis*, as before; 2, "(Arg.) on a chief (gu.) three bezants," *Russell*; 3, "(Or) a raven (ppr.)," *Corbet*; 4, "Lozengy (or and az.) a chev. (gu.)," *Gorges*. Sir Gilbert Dennys married Margaret, d. and co-h. of Sir Maurice Russell. William Dennis married Margaret d. and h. of Walter Corbett. Theobald Russell married Elianor, d. and h. of Sir Ralph Gorges.

Quarterly, 1 & 4, *Dennis*. 2 & 3, quarterly, *Danvers* and *Barendes*. Sir Walter Dennys married Agnes, d. and co-h. Sir Robert Danvers.

Quarterly, *Danvers* and *Barendes*.

Quarterly: 1, *Dennis*; 2, *Russell*; 3, *Corbet*; 4, *Gorges*.

Porch: "(Arg.) a cross between four roses (gu.) seeded (or) barbed (vert)," *Trotman*, impaling "(Arg.) a chev. (? gu.) between three buglehorns sinisterways stringed (sa.) garnished (or)," *Wayte*. Samuel Trotman married Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Wayte. *Trotman* impaling Quarterly: 1 and 4, "(Arg.) three fusils conjoined in fess (gu.), on 1 a label of as many points in chief (? of the last) for difference," *Montague*. 2 and 3, "(Or) an eagle displ. (vert) beaked and membered (gu.)," *Monthermer*. Samuel Trotman married Elizabeth, daughter of Lord Chief Baron Montague. John de Montacute, Earl of Salisbury, married before 1349, Margaret, Baroness Monthermer, daughter of Thomas Lord M. Quarterly, 1 and 4, *Trotman*. 2 and 3, "(Arg.) on a fess (gu.) between three garbs (sa.) a martlet for difference." Glos. Vis. says a crescent, *Tindall*. Richard Trotman married Catherine, daughter of Edward, and sister and co-heiress of Thomas Tindall.

Hall: *Trotman* with escut. of Pretence, Quarterly, *Montague* and *Monthermer*; the eagle of the last was sable.

Framed blazon of Trotman, 20 quarterings: 1, *Trotman*; 2, *Filmer*; 3, *Fiennes*; 4, *Boloine*; 5, *Fillol*; 6, *?Chauncey*; 7, *Jordain*; 8, *?Monoux*; 9, *Say*; 10, *Maudeville*; 11, *Eudo*; 12, *Maminot*; 13, *Cheney*; 14, *Battisford*; 15, *Pepplesham*; 16, *Wickham*; 17, *Perrot*; 18, *Willcotes*; 19, *?Trillow*; 20, *Hobbes*.

Crest: Garb erect or banded arg. and az.; a crescent for difference between two ostrich feathers of the second quilled of the first.

PUCKLECHURCH CHURCH.

S. Aisle: *Dennis*, impaling, "? A pelican vulning itself." I can find no Dennis marriage with one bearing this coat; it might possibly be Carne, of Glamorgan. M. said Still and Cotton de Conington, Hertford, really Huntingdon.

N. Wall: "(Arg.) on a mount (vert) a bull statant gu. (armed or)," *Ridley*, 1688.

"(Gu.) a bend engr. (arg.) between three leopards' faces jessant de lys, 2 and 1 (or)," *Dennis*, impaling "¡Erm. three roses (gu.) seeded (or) barbed (vert), 2 and 1," *Still* Crest: On wreath a "? greyhound statant." I cannot find that Dennis ever bore such a crest, the usual one being "a demi-lion ramp. az. bezanty." I can find no such marriage as the above, but in the pedigree in Hoare's *Wilts*, Nathaniel Still, of Hutton, Somerset, married, 1610, Jane, daughter of William Whitmore of London, and that she remarried H. Dennis, Esq., and died 1639; if so, the coat ought to be Whitmore, not Still. Hoare gives the Still coat as "Sable guttée de larmes (false, ought to be d'eau), three roses arg. barbed and seeded proper." This is as it is at Hutton. *Dennis*, as in previous one, impaling ". . . ? two bars," may be "Arg., three bars az.;" the true one is, "Barry of eight az. and arg., over all an eagle displ. with two heads gu," *Speke*. Crest as the one before. Henry Dennis of Pulcherchurch married Margaret, daughter of Sir George Speke. Glos. Vis., p. 51.

Shield on floor in N. Chantry: *Dennis* impaling *Speke*, and Crest as the last.

Corbels in N. Aisle: Quarterly, 1 and 4, "A saltire." 2, "Three fleur de lys, 1 and 2." 3 A "fleur de lys," perhaps *Willington* or *Neville*.

DIRHAM CHURCH.

N. Aisle: "Per chev.," really "Per fess embat. az. and gu. two chevronels or between three bucks trippant arg. attired and unguled of the third," and Baronet's inescutcheon, *Robinson*, impaling "Arg. a body-heart gu. ensigned with Imperial Crown ppr., on a chief az. three mullets of the field," *Douglas*.

Quarterly, defaced: 1 and 4, "Az. three lozenges arg." may be "or," *Freeman*. 2 and 3, really "Sa. on a fess between two lions pass. guard. arg. pelletty three crescents gu.," *Tyler*. Francis Freeman married Mary d. and h. of Isaac

Tyler; so it looks as if 2 and 3 ought to have been on escut. of Pretence.

S. Aisle: Brass under flooring. (1) "Diapered field on a chief three roundels," *Russell* as at Siston. (2) *Russell* impaling evidently an afterthought scratched engraving, Quarterly, 1 & 4, query "On bend another bendlet wavy" may be "nebuly," or perhaps intended for "two bends wavy above and below," which might be *Hankford*. 2 & 3, "An annulet with a centre inside another," perhaps intended for the "gurges" of Gorges; but Sir Maurice Russell married Isabell *Bruyne*, whose coat is thought to be "Az. a cross moline or." But the family of Bruyne did bear, I find, this: "Quarterly gu. & az. in chief two suns or," so perhaps it is a misreading of the last.

Hatchments. S. Aisle, W., &c.: Quarterly, 1 & 4, "Or two bends engr. sa," *Blathwayt*. 2, "Or on each of three squares may be billets sa. an annulet arg," *Ambrose*. 3, "Sa. a fess and in chief a crescent erm.," *Winter*. William Blathwayt married, 1719, Thomasina, d. of Jonathan Ambrose. William Blathwayt married, 1686, Mary, d. & h. of John Wynter.

On Lozenge shield: Quarterly, 1, *Blathwayt*. 2, *Wynter*. 3, "Az. a lion ramp. erm. crowned or," query *Gerard*. 4, "Arg. a saltire gu," query *Gerard*. Escutcheon of Pretence, *Ambrose* as before. Crest: ? on a rock ppr. an eagle rising arg. wings az.," *Blathwayt*. Here like a crow regardant. John Wynter married Frances Gerard, of Trent.

Quarterly of 6: 1 & 6, *Blathwayt*. 2, *Ambrose*. 3, *Wynter*. 4, *Gerard*. 5, *Gerard*. On escutcheon of Pretence: "Arg. a lion ramp. az," ? *Creighton*. William Blathwayt married Mary Creighton, who died 1823, aged 100.

? Quarterly: 1, *Blathwayt*. 2, *Ambrose*. 3, *Wynter*. 4, "Sa. a lion ramp. within bordure arg. pelletty," query intended for Gerard or Henley, impaling "Arg. on a fess gu. cotised az. between three Catherine wheels sa. as many lambs pass. or," *Scott*, Great Barr, Stafford. William Blathwayt married, 1790, Frances, d. of William Scott.

Quarterly of 6: 1 & 6, "Arg. a bend erm. between two bendlets engr. sa., each charged with three crosses croslet fitchy or." *Query.* 2, *Ambrose.* 3, *Wynter* 4, *Gerard.* 5, *Gerard*, impaling "Az. on a fess cotised or three lions ramp. sa," *Taylor.* Crest: Eagle ppr. rising. Burke says William took the name of Blathwayt 1818, and married Frances, d. of James Taylor, so perhaps 1 & 6 are his coat.

Mural Tablet: The Baron of the last Hatchment impaling what looked like "Arg. a fess gu. cotised . . . in base a tressure or bordure bent round." *Query.* The last William, who died 1839, the date on the M., married secondly Mrs. Elizabeth Le Pepre, so perhaps it is a foreign coat; but according to Burke her maiden name was Clarke, which ought to have been shown.

Hatchment: The six quarterings as before, impaling "Or on a cross sa. a cross fitchy, but croslet on top of the first," *Vesey.* This is a go-between of a cross croslet fitchy and a patriarchal cross: the latter is meant, which is not fitchy. George William Blathwayt married, 1822, Mary Anne, d. of the Rev. Thomas Agmondisham Vesey, of the family of Viscount de Vesci.

Monument: *Blathwayt*, impaling Quarterly 1 & 4, *Wynter*; 2 & 3, Quarterly 1 & 4, *Gerard*; 2 & 3, *Gerard*, 1701. Crest: Blathwayt.

Hatchment: *Blathwayt* and Escut. of Pretence, *Wynter.*

Hatchment: *Blathwayt* and Escut. of Pretence. "Arg. on a bend engr. gu. a bezant between two swans' wings elevated in bend proper," *Clarke.* This is apparently what ought to have been shown on the tablet.

Tomb: *Wynter*, with another crescent for difference; impaling Quarterly, 1 & 4, "(Az. may be sa.) on a fess between three buglehorus stringed (sometimes sinisterways arg.) a hemp break (gu.)," *Brayne.* Glos. Vis., 1623, p. 182. George Winter married Anne, really sister and co-h. of Richard Brayne and d. of Henry Brayne and Katherine. . . . . 2, "(Az.) on a cross (or) a branch of oak of three sprigs, two acorns in fess and one in chief (vert.)," query *Doyngell*,

Cornwall. Papworth says *Brayne*; this coat is blazoned, though not as on tomb in Glos. Vis., 1623, p. 208, and in *Glos. Arch. Trans.*, vol. vi., p. 296, but in both cases false, the field being tricked "Ar." instead of "Az.", and the sprig has only two leaves and one acorn; the wife of Henry and the mother of Anne Brayne has no surname, so it is possible that it was Doyngell, which Papworth gives as "Sa. on a cross or an oaken slip of three acorns vert." 3, "(Az.) six roundels, (plates) 3, 2, 1, on a chief (arg.) a lion ramp. query guard. (of the field)." Papworth says *Degon*, Glos. The Glos. Vis. says Richard Brayne, brother of Henry, married Jane, d. and h. of John Digus, a family I cannot find. Harleian Dycas, which *Glos. Arch. Trans.* calls Digges: so there must be some confusion of family; but if the coat represents Jane, then the marshalling is in favour of 2 being Katherine.

Sacrarium, N: "Quarterly or and sa. on a bend arg. in chief a crescent charged with another for difference," *Langton*, 1663.

W. Window: "Per fess az. and gu. two chev. or between three bucks trippant arg." and Baronet's inescutcheon, *Robinson*, impaling "Erm. on a bend az. between three crosses croslet gu. as many cinquefoils or," query *Southwell*. I cannot find this marriage. Crest: Buck trippant arg. attired and unguled or in front of part pales ppr. Motto: "Spes mea in futuro est."

Robinson, as last: impaling "Arg. three estoiles az," *Innes*. Crest as before, only buck charged with mullet sa. for difference.

Porch, inside, loose stone shield: Quarterly 1, *Dennis*. 2, Defaced query *Russell* may be *Gilbert*. 3, "Lozengy (or and az.) a chev. (gu.)," *Gorges*. 4, "Cross moline," query "Az. a cross moline or," *Bruyne*. The mother of Sir Gilbert Dennis' wife Margaret, d. and co-h. of Sir Maurice Russell, was Isabell Bruyne. Crest: query Antelope. Supporters: Two talbots, query bears being muzzled sejant, collars charged with roses, lined reflex over back and ringed.

ST. NICHOLAS' CHURCH, GLOUCESTER.

By M. H. MEDLAND, F.R.I.B.A.

There appears to be very little recorded of the early history of this church. I glean the following information from the Furney and Prinn MSS., extracts from which are given by Fosbrooke and Rudge in their Histories of Gloucester.

Fosbrooke quotes thus:—"The advowson of the church was granted to Nicholas Rangell, 4th John, and William Coxwell, incumbent of it 5th Henry III., for the repairing of the West Bridge. Eleanor, his Queen, gave it to St. Bartholomew's Hospital, and Pope Gregory (perhaps the eleventh of that name, though not expressed) by his Bull confirmed the same to the Hospital; but says, 'twas given by a Bishop of Worcester with the consent of the Chapter." "By an ordinance of Parliament, 1648, for uniting the Holy Trinity to it, an annuity of £80 was annexed to this curacy, with one of the prebendal houses, and the incumbent was to pay, for first fruits and tenths, at the rate of £8 per annum." "This is reckoned as a chapel of St. Bartholomew's Hospital."[1]

Again: "'Tis an impropriation, annexed, united and belonging to St. Bartholomew's Hospital, granted therewith to the Mayor and Burgesses by Queen Elizabeth, and by them leased out at the rent of £1 6s. 8d. to the Hospital, at 13s. 4d. to the Dean and Chapter (as part of the revenues of St. Peter's Abbey) to be paid by the Curate."[2]

Again: "The chantries in this church were St. Mary's, benefactioned by Alderman John Cook, 1528, this of Thomas of Gloucester, another dedicated to St. Thomas, founded or benefactioned by William Sandford, temp. Henry III. In 1491 Agnes Francomb instituted an obit, of which, since the dissolution, 6s. 8d. has been paid by the grantee to the churchwardens."[3]

[1] Fosbrooke's *History of Gloucester*, 4to, p. 360.
[2] *Ibid.* [3] Fosbrooke's *History of Gloucester*, p. 361.

Rudge says: "The bells, seats, and other things belonging to the interior of Holy Trinity Church were removed to St. Bartholomew's Hospital, to Taynton, St. Nicholas, and other places."[1] "The minister is entitled to a lodging in St. Bartholomew's Hospital."[2]

Many of the quotations are very enigmatical; for instance, there is nothing to indicate by whom the advowson was granted to Nicholas Rangell and William Coxwell. Was it a Crown living? If so, was Queen Eleanor enabled to grant it to St. Bartholomew's Hospital in consequence of its having reverted to the Crown? Nothing is said as to how "a" Bishop of Worcester became possessed of the patronage. Did the living again revert to the Crown? for we find Queen Elizabeth impropriating it to the Mayor and Burgesses of Gloucester.

The Church of St. Nicholas stands in what, in ancient times, was the busiest and probably the wealthiest part of the city; for it was on the wharves, which existed hard by, that foreign merchandise and iron ore from the Forest of Dean (which was smelted and forged in Gloucester) was landed. We may conclude that in early days merchants and tradesmen did not live in suburban villas or neighbouring fashionable towns, and that therefore their interest and wealth were centred in their business quarters.

Since the building of this church some of the ancient waterways have been filled up, and the level of the street has been raised probably six or seven feet.

The dedication of the church was no doubt influenced by its position, as St. Nicholas was the patron saint of, amongst others, mariners, merchants, and labourers. In passing, I would remind you that he was Bishop of Myra in Lycia, to which See he was raised by Constantine the Great in the 4th century. He became known and greatly reverenced by northern nations about the beginning of the 12th century. The picture I shew is copied from one by Botticelli,[3]—the

[1] Rudge's *History and Antiquities of Gloucester*, p. 335.
[2] *Ibid*, p. 334. [3] See Plate II.

three balls on his book refer to one of his earliest acts of charity, in providing dowries for the three daughters of an impoverished nobleman,—they represent three bars of gold which he, on three separate occasions, secretly threw into the nobleman's house, and which enabled him to comfortably dispose of his daughters in marriage. He appears to have been one of those good souls who "do good by stealth and blush to find it fame." Chambers, in his *Book of Days*, says: "The three balls of St. Nicholas form the well-known pawnbrokers' sign, which, with considerable probability, has been traced to this origin." Many curious legends are told of him relating to his saving of life at sea and elsewhere, for which I refer you to Mrs. Jameson's *Sacred and Legendary Art*.

We may conjecture that some lucky adventurer, or possibly pirate (for they were not uncommon in the 12th century), founded the church in honour of his Patron Saint and as a salve to his conscience.

ST. NICHOLAS, GLOUCESTER.
WEST END OF NAVE, TOWER, &c.

The earliest or most ancient parts of the church now existing are the south wall and doorway of the nave and three piers and two arches of the north nave arcade—these are Norman, of a very rude and simple character, erected probably at the beginning of the 12th century—the arches are of two orders without decoration of any kind; the piers are 3 ft. 6 in. in diameter. It is significant of the importance of this part of the city in ancient times that the Normans should have here erected so many churches, for we have the Abbey of St. Peter, the Priory of St. Oswald, and the churches of St. Mary de Lode and St. Nicholas grouped together within almost a stone's throw of each other.

What the original size and plan of St. Nicholas' Church of the 12th century may have been we can only conjecture, for there are no evidences to guide us. Judging by the width of the nave (22 ft.) and the size of the remaining Norman piers, it is reasonable to suppose that the church was a large one, probably consisting of nave with north aisle, chancel, transepts and western tower. There are no evidences of any clerestory.

The Norman church was evidently taken down (with the exception of such portions as still exist) [1] during the reign of Henry III. (from 1230 to 1250), when the nave arcades, the chancel and the south aisle were built. The characteristics of the work of this period (as exhibited in this church) are the circular columns with moulded and carved caps, as shown in the nave arcade (these have been "restored," but are more or less faithful copies of the originals, and are very varied and elegant), lancet windows, simple geometrical tracery and detached shafts to the jambs of doors and windows. St. Bartholomew's Hospital was very similar (judging by Lysons' etching made in 1794 and published in his "Gloucestershire Etchings") to the south aisle of St. Nicholas' Church, which was built during the reign of Henry III. In the absence of any evidence to the contrary, it would appear that such portions of the church as were

[1] See Plate IL

built in the 13th century, as well as St. Bartholomew's Hospital, were built at the instigation of Queen Eleanor.

In the 14th century a south porch[1] and north transept appear to have been added, a "Decorated" window inserted in the south wall of the chancel, the 13th century tracery

ST. NICHOLAS, GLOUCESTER.
SOUTH AISLE, LOOKING EAST.

removed from the east window of the south aisle and "Decorated" tracery inserted in its place.

In the 15th century the builders were again actively at work, for then the east window of the chancel and the whole of the windows of the south aisle were completely metamorphosed, the 13th century tracery of the east window of the chancel being removed and replaced by "Perpendicular" tracery, and the whole of the windows of the south aisle (which were probably lancet lights grouped

[1] See note at the foot of page 124. The permission to build there quoted would involve the building of the south porch.

in pairs) were cut out, the openings enlarged, and new three-light mullioned windows (with three centre arches) formed and filled with "Perpendicular" tracery, the old 13th century detached shafts and arch mouldings being

ST. NICHOLAS, GLOUCESTER.
NAVE AND CHANCEL, LOOKING EAST.

re-used. During this, the 15th century, the tower and spire[1] were built. I fear that the builders cannot be looked upon as "wise master builders," for, if we examine the plan, we shall find that the piers are extremely small in proportion to the weight they were intended to carry; the N.E. pier has a superficial area of only 34 feet, a portion of which consists of the respond to the 13th century western bay of

[1] See Plate III.

the north arcade. The 13th century arch is not true and symmetrical in form. What has happened is probably as follows: The 15th century builders removed the west wall of the church in order to make way for their tower, and did not securely shore up this arch and respond. In getting out the foundation for the tower pier the foundation of the "respond" was loosened and gave way, and the arch and pier went over westward (the springing of the arch on the west side is 17 inches below that on the east side); the tower pier was then built against the dilapidated archway and the tower and spire were built; the weight, however, proved too great for the insufficient foundation, and the steeple settled to the north-east, probably as much as five feet; the tower alone is 2 ft. 6 in. out of perpendicular. A heavy buttress, with flying arch, was then built against the north-east pier of the tower, probably with the hope of preventing further mischief.

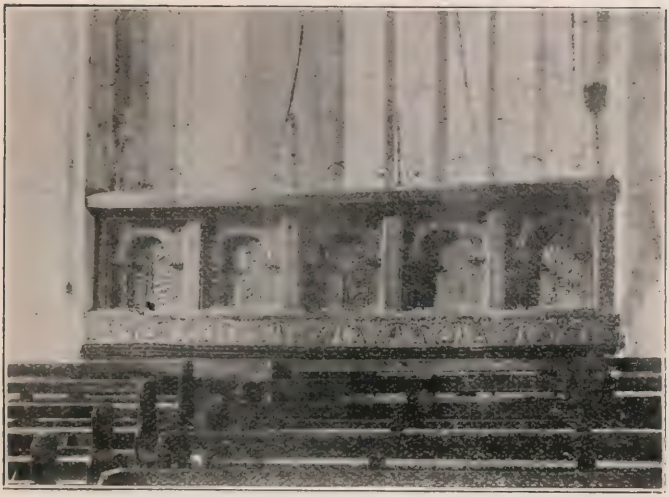
ST. NICHOLAS, GLOUCESTER.

In 1783 thespire showed such signs of weakness that the upper part was removed to the level of the band of quatrefoils, and the present corona, with gilded balls and weathercock, formed as a finish to it. This work was executed by John Bryan, a Gloucester builder, at a cost of £110, and the old materials.

A beautiful design has been spoiled through the want of constructive ability and forethought on the part of the builders; they would have done better if, in the first place, they had shored up the western arch, removed the "respond," formed a larger and more homogenous foundation for the tower pier, and omitted the useless north archway to the tower.

ST. NICHOLAS, GLOUCESTER.
CHANCEL FROM SOUTH AISLE, SHEWING HAGIOSCOPES, &c.

During the 15th century, also, the hagioscopes or squints were formed in the north and south walls of the chancel, in order to give a view of the celebration of mass at the high altar from the chantry chapels.



ST. NICHOLAS, GLOUCESTER.
JACOBEAN GALLERY.

The ornate and interesting gallery front was probably erected in the time of James I.

With the exception of the taking down the pinnacles and of part of the spire in 1783, and some general repairs to the steeple in 1843, nothing further of a material nature would appear to have been done to the fabric till 1865, when a partial restoration was effected; this restoration consisted of the partial rebuilding of the north and south nave arcades, the re-facing of the western end of the south aisle, the introduction of two new windows in the south aisle—viz., the one at the western end of the south wall of the aisle and the one at the west end of the aisle—the erection of a new porch, new window to nave (west of porch), new tracery to the first stage windows to the tower, heating chamber, new roofs, concreting all over the area of church, and new flooring and seating throughout. The linen-fold panels from the old seating, &c., were re-used in the new bench-ends.

I will now enumerate what I consider the most interesting

features of the church, and describe them in more detail. They are—

1. The Norman doorway.
2. The sanctuary ring or knocker.
3. The windows in south aisle and chancel.
4. The tower and spire.
5. The bells.
6. The altars and piscinæ.
7. The hagioscopes or squints.
8. The church plate.
9. The Jacobean gallery-front.
10. The tombs and monuments.
11. The register of "mariadges," baptisms, and burials from 1558 to 1706.

NORMAN DOORWAY AND XIVTH CENTURY CLOSING RING.

The Norman Doorway.—The south doorway is an interesting and characteristic specimen of an early Norman doorway; the tympanum is carved, the subject being the Agnus Dei.

CLOSING RING.

The Sanctuary Knocker or Closing Ring.—On the south door is a very fine specimen of a so-called sanctuary knocker or closing ring. It is made of bronze, of 14th century workmanship, and represents the Spirit of Evil—the devil—with his cunning face, long ears, bat's wings and claws, carrying away a drunken woman, who is putting out her tongue to get a last taste of the grapes which originally hung over her mouth. I regret that tradition places a woman in such an unenviable position. Possibly drunkenness was very rife in this parish in the 14th century, and this representation of the ending of such sinners was placed on

the church door as an object lesson to warn such offenders of the end to which they might come, or we may have here merely an example of the playfulness of some mediæval artist in associating "Old Nick" (our Saxon ancestors' name for the devil, derived from Nikarr, the Scandinavian sea-sprite)[1] with the good St. Nicholas. The fact of St. Nicholas being the patron saint of mariners looks as if the tutelage of Nikarr was transferred to St. Nicholas, or rather that his good qualities were transferred to St. Nicholas and his evil qualities to the devil.

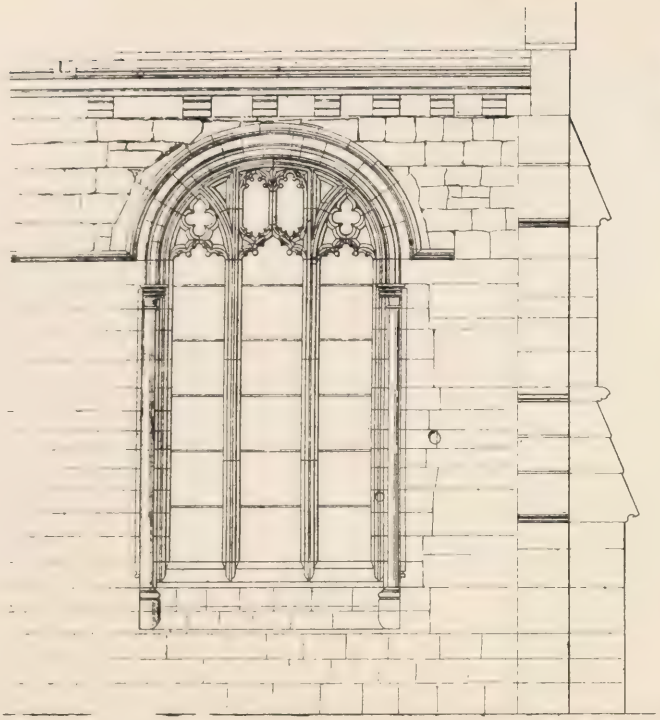
Whether this so-called sanctuary knocker is other than a closing ring, I am not prepared to say. As Mrs. Bagnall-Oakeley has gone so thoroughly into the subject of the privileges of sanctuary, I will refer those who are interested in the subject to her Paper published in these *Transactions*, vol. xiv. I will on this point simply say that as St. Nicholas was "the protector of the weak against the strong, of the poor against the rich, of the captive, the prisoner, the slave,"[2] the church dedicated to him would be specially appropriate for a sanctuary; and that as it appears to have been the duty of those who gave sanctuary or shelter to fugitives to get them out of the country, so the nearness of the wharves would render it a comparatively easy matter to get fugitives on board ship and away. The following extracts from *Scenes and Character of the Middle Ages*, by the Rev. C. L. Cutts, B.A., and *Gloucester Corporation Records* throw some light on the subject, and tend to support the theory that St. Nicholas Church may have been a sanctuary:—

Under the Heading "Hermits and Recluses," Mr. Cutts says: "Henry, Lord Scrope, of Masham, by will, dated 23rd June, 1415, bequeathed 13s. 4d. to Thomas, the chaplain dwelling continually in the Church of St. Nicholas, Gloucester."

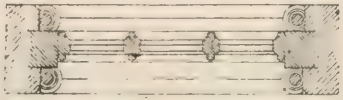
The *Corporation Records* say: "1440, October 3. Agreement between Brother Stephen, Prior of the Hospital

[1] See Grimm's *Teutonic Mythology*.
[2] *Sacred and Legendary Art*, Mrs. Jameson.

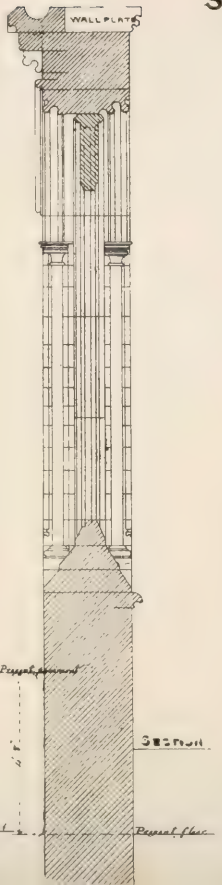
St Nicholas' Ch: Gloucester
South Aisle.

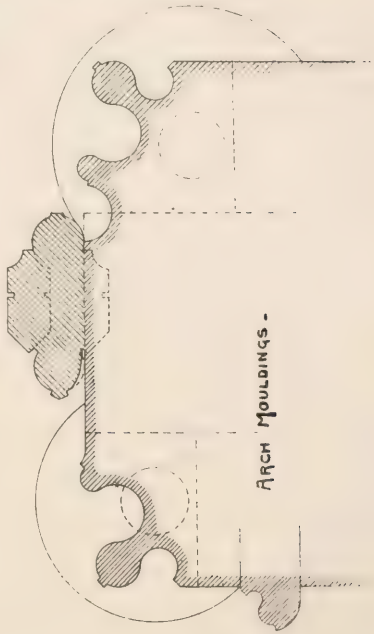


Part South Elevation



Plan of Window

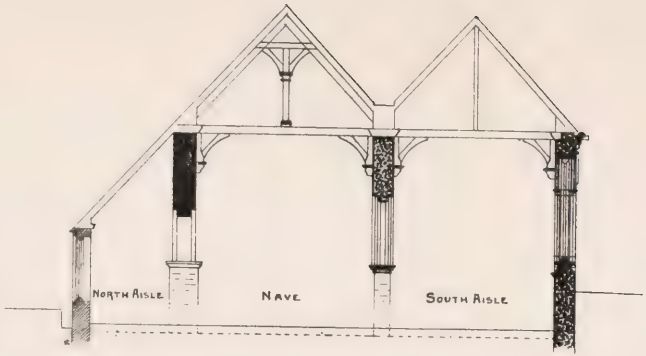




Early English work scored thus
Perpendicular work . . .

Ch: of St. Nicholas: Gloucester.

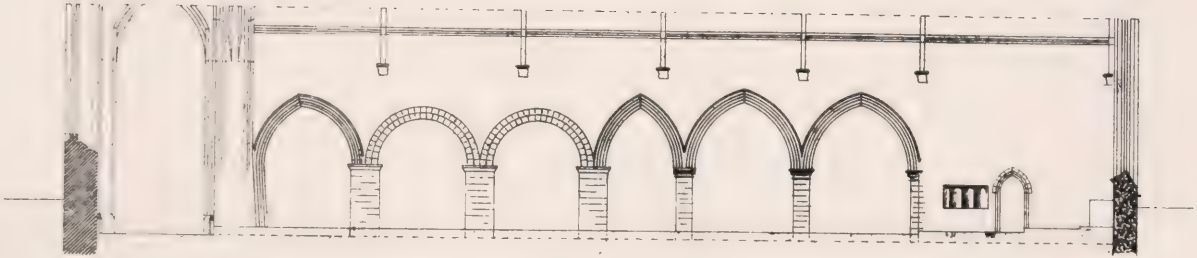
1892



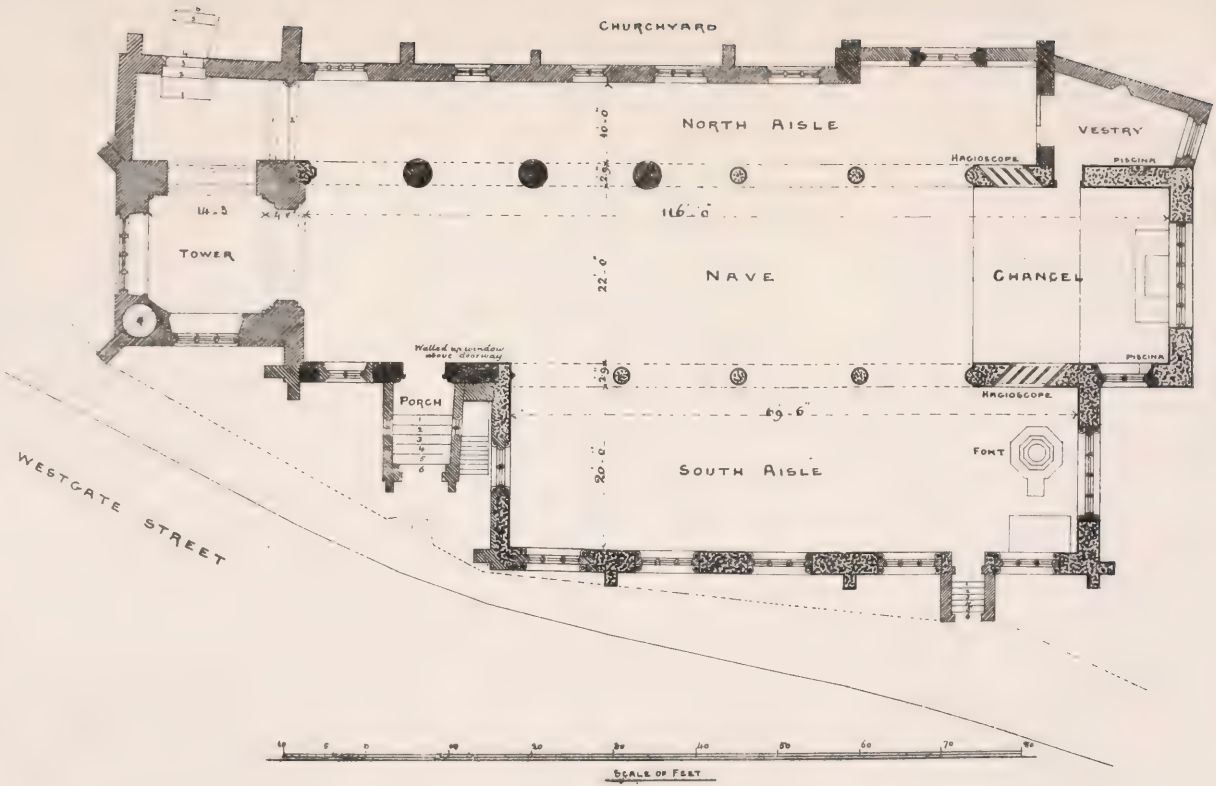
SECTION LOOKING EAST

REFERENCE

NORMAN	WORK	
EARLY ENGLISH	DO.	
DECORATED	DO.	
PERPENDICULAR	DO.	
MODERN	DO.	



SECTION LOOKING NORTH


CHURCHYARD
NORTH AISLE
VESTRY
HAGIOSCOPE
PISCINA
TOWER
NAVE
CHANCEL
Walled up window above doorway
PORCH
SOUTH AISLE
FONT
WESTGATE STREET
SCALE OF FEET

of St. Bartholomew, Gloucester, and the Brethren of the same and Thomas Sefoule and William Perry, proctors of the same, for the settlement of a dispute as to the title to a chamber over the porch of the said church and the soil or area on the west of the said porch walled with stone, the Prior and Hospital claiming that the said chamber and area were part of the glebe of the said church, and the parishioners claiming that they have belonged to them time out of mind for the repairing of the said church. It is agreed that the parishioners are to have the said chamber and area for a term of 40 years, saving to the Prior and others the right of entry there, and paying to the Prior two pounds of good and new wax at the feast of the Annunciation and at Michaelmas by equal portions."

The said "Thomas the Chaplain" no doubt dwelt in the chamber over the porch, no part of which now remains.

The South Aisle Windows, &c.—I have previously stated that the windows in the south wall of the south aisle (St. Mary's Chapel), and the east window of the chancel were altered in the 15th century. The diagram will more or less show what was done.[1] The moulded portion (dotted thus ::::::) gives the section of the mutilated remains of the early English arch mouldings, and the portion (scored thus ////) represents the section of the 15th century, or "Perpendicular" tracery. The section of the mullions of the east chancel window, which is of a distinctly "Perpendicular" type, is almost exactly like that of the aisle windows under notice. The irregularity of the jointing of the stonework of the jambs and of the masonry above the arch and elsewhere, together with the slight cusping of the voussoirs of the arch (which is caused by the using up of the old arch stones, which were originally worked to a smaller radius) give confirmatory evidence to my theory of alterations in the 15th century. The combination of the Early English and "Perpendicular" work is not unpleasing. The arch, which is stilted some nine inches, is formed from

[1] Plate III.

three centres and at such a radius as made it possible to use up (with approximate exactness) the Early English moulded voussoirs. The cornice, with stone gutter, shoots, and corbels, is effective and worth noting—especially one corbel, of extra width, on which a grotesque figure is carved. There is probably a buried plinth.

OLD ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S HOSPITAL, GLOUCESTER.
From Lysons' Etchings.

Lysons' view of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, to which I have before referred, gives a good idea of the style of windows of the south aisle before the 15th century alterations were made. Instead of the lancets being in groups of three, as at the hospital, they were probably in pairs, and the detached shafts, with their moulded caps and bases, would give them a more ornate appearance—befitting the more sacred edifice. The east windows in both cases were probably almost identical in design.

THE TOWER AND SPIRE.—The tower is 23 ft. square, of three stages, of a total height (from ground floor to top of parapet) of 90 ft., with angular buttresses to the level of the top of second stage and small buttresses, square with the face of wall, at the angles of the third stage. Pinnacles, 12 in. square, formerly stood at the angles of parapet. The tower staircase is in ths south-west angle. The vaulting to

first stage is elaborate and effective. The view into tower from the church is somewhat picturesque.

The spire, when entire, was probably about 190 ft. high, and, with its pinnacles and canopied windows, had a singularly elegant appearance. The band of quatrefoils below the moulded cornice of corona, formed part of the original design.

I do not think I should let this opportunity pass without a word of praise and thankfulness to the brave firemen who so pluckily and promptly mounted the spire in the summer of 1891 to extinguish the fire, caused by lightning, and thereby, probably, preserved from destruction one of our oldest and most interesting churches.

The Bells.—The belfry contains seven bells, which bear the following inscriptions, viz.:—

1. Robert Longney, Churchwarden, 1608. J.B.: (Supposed to be John Barber.)
2. Anno Domini, 1686.
3. ,, ,,
4. Sante Johannes Baptista ora pro nobis. In tempore Clementis Lichfield Sacriste, Robertus Handlei Magdalene fecit me in honore Marie. (Date: Supposed to be about 1400.)
5. Sancta Maria ora pro nobis.
6. Prosperity to this Parish, 1725. Sanctus.
7. In worghepe of Seynte Jon. John Patte ande Alis hys wyfe, let mak me bey her lyte.

The L in Alis is turned upside down. The unintelligibility of some of the spelling may, I think, be accounted for by the way in which the inscriptions were prepared for the casting. It would appear that the letters, which were made separately—like type, were placed in order in the mould, and that when the metal was run they were incorporated in the structure of the bell, but, inasmuch as the workman could not see the face of the inscription before it was cast, mistakes were unalterable.

Altars and Piscinæ.—It would appear from Glouc.

Abb. Reg., An. 162, MSS. Prin., that in addition to the high altar, which was of course in the chancel, there were three other altars in chantry chapels; viz., one dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary, which was benefactioned by Alderman John Cook in 1528, one founded by Thomas of Gloucester, and one dedicated to St. Thomas, which was founded or benefactioned by William Sandford, *temp.* Henry III.

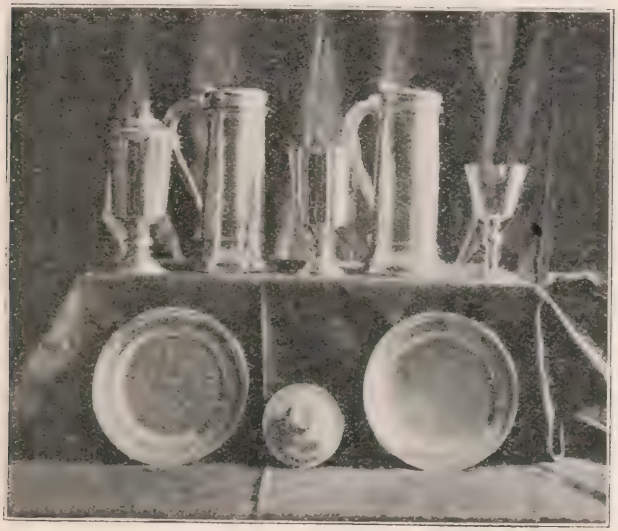
There are three places in the church where these altars may have stood; viz., at the east end of the south aisle, the east side of the north transept (which, by the way, may have been built specially for a chantry), and the present vestry, for we have here the only piscinæ in the church, with the exception of that in the chancel. Alderman John Walton's tomb and mural tablet cover the wall space, where we might expect to find a piscinæ in the south aisle. I am not prepared to state positively to whom the several chantry chapels were dedicated, but I think it probable that that at the east end of the south aisle would be the one dedicated to St. Mary.[1] The north transept would probably be the site of that dedicated to St. Thomas, leaving the present vestry for the altar of the said Thomas of Gloucester.

The existing piscinæ are very simple in design.

The Hagioscopes or Squints. — The hagioscopes or squints were inserted in the north and south walls of the chancel in the 12th century: they are each composed of four openings through the wall 11 inches wide, divided from each other by stone divisions 2½ inches thick and finished at top by very flat four-centred arches. The levels of the floors

[1] 1347, August 5: "Permission from Brother Nicholas, Prior of the Hospital of St. Bartholomew and Rector of the Church of St. Nicholas, with the assent of the brethren of the said hospital, for his parishioners of the said church to build upon a piece of land between the wide door and wall of the said church on the north and the King's highway on the south, extending in length from the stone wall at the back ot the chapel of St. Mary in the said church on the east to the stone-work of the bell-tower (campanile) of the said church."—*Gloucester Corporation Records.*

in the side chapels were originally probably 18 inches lower than at present, which would of course render it possible to see through the opening without stooping.



COMMUNION PLATE.

The Church Plate.—The following is an inventory of the church plate, viz.:—

1. A silver cover paten of a Communion cup, elegantly moulded and chased. Date 1573.
2. A silver flagon 11½ in. high, 4½ in. diameter, with hinged cover. Inscription: "Poculum Ecclesiæ Nicholai Glouc[r] in usum Eucharistiæ. Ex dono Anne Robins 1626." Date 1632.
3. A silver chalice with paten cover, 8 inches high, 4 inches diameter. Inscription: "Poculum Ecclesiæ Nicholai Glouc[r] in usum Eucharistiæ. Ex dono Christopheri Caple ar Aldermani 1626." Coat of arms engraved on chalice. Date 1630.
4. A silver flagon 11¾ inches high, 4 inches diameter,

with hinged cover. Inscription: "Poculum Ecclesiæ Nicholai Glouc^r in usum Eucharistiæ. Ex dono Ricardi Massinger, Gener. Aldermani 1668." Four devices on flagon and four on cover.

5. A silver chalice $7\frac{5}{8}$ inches high, 4 inches diameter. Inscription: Thomas Wadley } Churchwardens
John Wadley } 1716.
Maker, Nathaniel Lock. Date 1716.

6. A pair of silver patens, $8\frac{3}{4}$ inches diameter, moulded rims. Inscription: "The gift of Mrs. Ann Clayfield to St. Nicholas Church, Glocestar, Octr ye 28 Anno Dom 1716." Maker doubtful. Date 1716.

7. Silver cup, on baluster stem, given by Charles Hyett, Esq., for the use of the sick, in 1731. $6\frac{3}{4}$ inches high, 4 inches diameter.
Pricked inscription under bottom: M.C. 1638.

THE JACOBEAN GALLERY FRONT.—The gallery front is of the Jabobean period, it formerly extended quite across the west end of the nave in a line with the Norman doorway. The backs of the clergy chairs in the chancel are formed of such portions as were cut off in order to make the gallery front fit into the tower archway.

TOMBS AND MONUMENTS.—The church and churchyard are full of interesting memorials of departed and distinguished citizens. Many of the monuments tell of the worthy mayors and aldermen of former days. I will only refer especially to that of Alderman John Walton and his wife Alice, which stands in the south-east corner of the south aisle, and consists of an altar-tomb, on which rest the painted effigies of Alderman John Walton, in his aldermanic robes, and his wife; on the north face of tomb are the kneeling effigies of presumably their son and daughter. Alderman John Walton died on the 20th September, 1626. The Arms of the City, as granted by Christopher Barker, Garter, in 1538 (with the curious difference that instead of the sword and cap of maintenance

occupying the pale of the shield, it is occupied by a pair of maces in saltier), are placed on the wall of the south aisle above the tomb and mural tablet. John Walton was Sheriff in 1613. It is therefore probable that the maces (which are the insignia of the Sheriffs) were substituted for the sword and cap of maintenance (which are the insignia of the Mayors) in memory of his Shrievalty.

The late Mr. J. T. D. Niblett, in his Paper on "The Arms of the City of Gloucester," printed in vol. ii. of these *Transactions*, gives an example of the city arms impaled with private arms, and suggests that they were probably used by one of the mayors or aldermen of Gloucester.

Register of "Mariadges," Baptisms, and Burials, from 1558 to 1706.—The register, which is written on vellum, consists of 155 pages, $16\frac{1}{2}'' \times 6\frac{1}{2}''$, and has been rebound. It is highly probable that many of the registers of marriages, baptisms, and burials for the first 42 years were transcribed from previous records, probably written on rolls. The handwriting for these years is the same, and is very neat.

The note following the heading, which indicates uncertainty as to the commencement of Queen Elizabeth's reign, is confirmatory evidence that the baptisms did not take place at the time the entries were made. The note reads as follows:—"△ Observe that the 30th of October 1558 is here made to be in the first year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth -- whereas Historians do all agree that Qn. Mary did not die and so that Qn. Eliz. came not to the throne till the 17th Novr following."

There are many curious entries in this register. Here is one:—"Item the 22nd of March (1587) was baptized Asquethe the daughter of Mr. Wolff a outlandysheman." Here is another: "Item the 16th of Maye (1592) was baptized William Barnett found at Wover (Query Over) his sureties were Walter Pyrkett and John Spillman who was brought to this church to be baptised at the commandment of the Ld Byshoppe."

There is material in this Register for an independent Paper, for we have here the personal history of the inhabitants of the parish for 148 years, with their christian and surnames, their occupations, and in many cases their condition. The burials of 81 victims of the plague in 1593, of 42 in 1604, and of 24 victims of the smallpox in 1706 are recorded, together with the burials of many debtors from the Castle.

The variety in the writing of the entries is also interesting, as no doubt indicating, in a general way, the characters of the scribes—some being extremely neat, whilst others are most untidy.

BATH, MERCIAN AND WEST SAXON.

By the Rev C. S. TAYLOR, M.A.,

Vicar of Banwell.

What follows is not intended in any way to give a connected history of Bath before the Norman Conquest, but simply to trace the history of the place and of the district attached to it in connection with the successive changes of ownership which brought it under the power first of the West Saxon, then of the Mercian, and finally again of the West Saxon Kings. It will be convenient to give at once the chief points of time in the history of Bath. In 577 the West Saxons captured it after the battle of Dyrham. In 676, Osric, Viceroy of the Huiccians under Ethelred, King of the Mercians, founded the Abbey of St. Peter and St. Paul, which still remains there; so that at some time during the preceding century it must have passed from the West Saxon to the Mercian Realm. In 864 Burhred, the last King of the Mercians, held a Gemot at Bath, ten years before the Danes drove him from his kingdom; the borough, therefore, must have remained under Mercian rule for at least two hundred years. Finally, in the Gheld-Inquest of 1084 Bath is entered definitely under Somerset. But it is very difficult to state distinctly at what point of time during the two centuries preceding the Norman Conquest the place became once more West Saxon.

Thus it is that the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society has a very distinct inheritance in the history of Bath. When we held our meeting there in July last we were no strangers in a strange land as we had been at Monmouth, but were rather as natives returning to a land which had once been ours. The Abbey, at any rate, is a Mercian foundation; the twin foundations of Osric at

Gloucester and Bath mark by their dedication to St. Peter and St. Paul their connection with the Great Minster of St. Hilda at Whitby, where the earliest of the Huiccian Bishops were trained. Christianity came to Bath under Mercian and not under West Saxon rulers, from Whitby and Iona rather than from Canterbury and Rome, through Osric and Bertana rather than through St. Aldhelm. The fount and origin of the life of the Bath that we know was Mercian and not West Saxon; its birthday was the day of the foundation of the Abbey by a Mercian Viceroy; it grew to maturity as a Mercian town, and though now for eight centuries it has flourished as a West Saxon City, those north of Avon will do well to remember, as those south of Avon ought not to forget, that it is to Mercia rather than to Wessex that Bath owes both its civil and religious life. Both the men of Somerset and those of Gloucestershire have a rightful inheritance in the history of Bath.

Bath first appears in English history in the well-known entry in the Chronicles under the year 577: "Cuthwine and Ceawlin fought against the Britons, and they slew three kings, Comail and Condidan and Farinmeail, in the place that is called Deorham; and they took three fortresses,[1] Gloucester, and Cirencester, and Bathcester." In 552 Cynric had captured Old Sarum; four years later he and his son Ceawlin took Beranbyrig, no doubt Barbury Camp on the north-western edge of Salisbury Plain, above Swindon Station. In 568 the West Saxons defeated Ethelbert, King of Kent, at Wimbledon, thus obtaining control of the valley of the Lower Thames; and in 571, by their victory over the Britons at Bedford,[2] they obtained possession of Benson and Eynsham, thus commanding the Middle Thames. Their next step in the path of conquest was clearly indicated by circumstances. From the salt water below Wimbledon their territory stretched without a break to Barbury, seventy miles to the westward, and within four miles of Barbury the little streams run into the head waters

[1] Ceastra,—Chesters. [2] Bedcanford.

of the Bristol Avon and point the way to the western sea lying just forty miles away.

It is a very remarkable thing that a straight line drawn from Barbury to the mouth of Avon passes within half a mile of Dyrham Camp, and the camp itself lies by the side of a very ancient way running from Christian Malford by Stanton St. Quintin and Nettleton to the low ground at Pucklechurch and Mangotsfield. It will be noticed that this road passes to the south of the Forest of Braden, and to the north of the valley of the Box Brook, which very probably contained an extension of the Forest of Selwood. It thus avoided as far as possible the wooded districts on either hand. We cannot doubt that this was the line taken by Ceawlin in his march to the west. We have absolutely no details of the fight; we are not even sure who were the besiegers and who the besieged. But if, as is likely, the West Saxons had marched to Dyrham and fortified a camp there, it would be absolutely necessary, if possible, for the Britons to drive them out. For the site of the camp was chosen with great skill. It was on the very edge of the Oolite escarpment, so that it would be hard to attack; it was within half a mile of the Ridgeway between Gloucester and Bath, and within about four miles of the Fosse between Bath and Cirencester, so that the communication between Bath and the other two cities would soon be cut off. In fact the Fosse and the Ridgeway are nearer to each other opposite to Dyrham Park than at any other point of their course; because the Fosse runs nearly south and passes to the east of Bannerdown, while the Ridgeway bends towards the west to Toghill, and enters Bath over Lansdown. Unless then the Britons of Gloucester and Cirencester were willing to leave Bath to a fate which would have been meted out to each of them in turn, they must make common cause against the enemy and fight the West Saxons entrenched in a fortress of their own choosing. This most likely they did, with the result that the three kings of the Britons were slain, their three cities were taken, and the corners of the

island were all that remained for the British race. Thus ended the Roman City of Aquæ Sulis, and the Bath which succeeded it, though it occupied its site, has no more to do with it than New York or Melbourne has to do with the Native settlements which preceded them.

Assuming for the moment the authenticity of Osric's Charter of 676, we see that by that time the Bath district had passed into the possession of the Mercians; what the extent of this district was, and the probable date of its change of ownership, we shall best ascertain from the few notices of the neighbourhood which we find in the Chronicles:

"628. Cynegils and Cuichelm fought against Penda at Cirencester, and then made a treaty.[1]

"645. King Cenwalk was driven out of his kingdom by King Penda.

"648. Cenwalk gave Cuthred, his kinsman, three thousand lands by Ashdown.

"652. Cenwalk fought at Bradford by Avon."

It would no doubt have been either in 628 or 645 that Penda took Bath and its neighbourhood into the Mercian realm; but there is really nothing to show at which date the territory passed. Even Mr. Freeman is not consistent with himself; writing at one time with regard to the annal of 628: "This I take to mean a cession of territory, most probably of the north-western conquests of Ceawlin. Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire must have been kept longer, as appears from the position of Dorchester as originally a West Saxon bishopric."[2] And then again: "In 644 Penda came against him (Cenwalk), and drove him for a while out of his kingdom, and it was perhaps now that Gloucestershire and some of the other West-Saxon lands north of the Thames and Avon became part of Mercia."[3] A like uncertainty hangs over the extent of territory which would have passed with Bath. Dr. Guest, in a paper in the

[1] Gethingodan, Paciscor. Wright's *Vocabularies*.
[2] *Norman Conquest*, i. 36, ed. 1877.
[3] *Old English History*, p. 65, ed. 1870.

Archæological Journal for June, 1859,[1] considers that the southern boundary of Ceawlin's conquests after the battle of Dyrham would have been marked by the river Axe, because he would have desired and obtained the lead-mines of Mendip; and that his south-eastern boundary would have lain along a line drawn from Englishcombe, near Bath, to the source of the Axe at Wookey Hole. This theory has been popularised by Mr. Freeman, and is probably the one now in possession of the field; though as Dr. Guest says, before his time the general opinion was that the Wansdyke marked the southern limit of Ceawlin's kingdom.

It cannot be said, however, that Dr. Guest's reasoning is very conclusive. No doubt Ceawlin would have liked to possess the Mendip lead-mines, as it is probable too that he wished he might get the iron-mines of the Forest of Dene, which would have been still more valuable to him. But the Welsh retained the Forest of Dene for two centuries more till the time of Offa; and if Ceawlin could not get the iron-mines, which lay within twelve miles of Gloucester, he would hardly have obtained the lead-mines, the nearest of which were at least sixteen miles from Bath.

Moreover, Dr. Guest's south-eastern boundary rests on very slight foundation. Sir R. C. Hoare[2] had mentioned a dyke steering from the south-west towards the Wansdyke, near Englishcombe. Dr. Guest found this with its ditch on the western side; he also found a similar ditch at Wallsmead, near Timsbury, and something like a similar ditch at Wallscombe, near Wells. On these three fragments of a ditch, and on the names English-combe, English-batch, Marksbury, Wallsmead, and Wallscombe the boundary rests. In any case it is not easy to see how Ceawlin's Saxons could have given a name to English-combe and English-batch. English Bicknor and Welsh Bicknor on either side of the Wye do not offer a parallel case, because the Forest of Dene

[1] Volume xvi., p. 105. [2] *North Wilts*, p. 25.

was annexed by the Mercian Offa and attached to Hereford; its conquerors were, therefore, English and not Saxons. It is far more likely that the names English-combe and English-batch arose after the Mercian Conquest of Bath, or even after Bishop Heathored had bought his thirty cassates south of Avon.

In this connection something depends on the entry in the Chronicles under 652, and on the enemies against whom Cenwalk fought. Dr. Guest says they were Britons who still held the low ground west of Salisbury Plain including the valleys of the Frome and Avon; this is possible, though it is certainly strange that if the West Saxon kings had held for at least half a century Salisbury Plain on one side, and the country between Bath and Mendip on the other, they had not obtained possession of the narrow strip that lay between. Ethelwerd, however, writes thus about Cenwalk's fight in 652: "Ipse bellum gessit civile, in cognominato loco Bradanforda, juxta fluvium Afene."[1] He thus makes it a civil war, and as he belonged to the West Saxon Royal House, he may be preserving here a true tradition. It is quite possible that if Ceawlin really had carried the West Saxon boundary south to Mendip in 577, and Penda had annexed this territory in 628 or 645, the fight in 652 was one between the Mercians and West Saxons. Cenwalk had guarded the approach to Wessex along the Ermine Street by committing 3,000 hides of land to his kinsman Cuthred in 648, probably the districts dependent on Malmesbury and Cricklade; and if he wished to revenge himself on Penda, he could best do it by an attack on the district south of Bath. Moreover, it is certain that Penda attacked Bamborough at some time between the death of St. Aidan on August 31st, 651, and his own death in 655,[2] and it is quite possible that Cenwalk took advantage of his absence in Northumbria to attack the southern extremity of his kingdom, and to take the district between Bath and Mendip from him.

[1] M.H.B., 506 B. [2] Bede, H. E. iii., 17.

On the other hand, it is quite possible that as the Severn bounded Ceawlin's conquests on the west, so the Avon bounded them on the south, and that Cenwalk captured Somerset north of Mendip from the Britons after the fight in 652, as he captured Mid-Somerset as far as Parrett from them in 658. The first ascertained fact with regard to the relation of Bath towards the lands to the south of it is that in the time of Heathored (who was consecrated to the see of Worcester in 781) the Avon formed the boundary between Mercia and Wessex, for he had bought thirty cassates south of Avon from Cynewulf, King of the West Saxons, and had apparently annexed them to the estates of the Huiccian Abbey of Bath.

We pass now to the first mention of Anglo-Saxon Bath in the charter of 676, attributed to Osric; and first with regard to the authenticity of the charter. Against it may be urged that it is an extremely early instance in England of a reckoning from the Incarnation; that the Indiction is wrongly stated; and that the names both of Leutherius and Hedda, successive Bishops of the West Saxons, appear as witnesses. With regard to the Indiction, it is written in full "quarta," not in figures; and is so far wrong that the fourth Indiction ran from September 1st, 675, to August 31st, 676, and thus by November 6th, 676, more than two months of the fifth Indiction had elapsed. Still, the error, such as it is, is not very great. In 1878 the Trustees of the British Museum published in Part iv. of their facsimiles of Ancient Charters, a grant by Wulphere, King of the Mercians, dated "Añ ab incarnat' Dñi DCXXIIII;" which must, by supplying one letter, be corrected to DCLXXIIII, the last year of Wulphere's reign.[1] Osric was a nephew of King Wulphere, being a son of his sister Cyneburh, and it is certainly remarkable that the two most ancient instances of the use of the era of the Incarnation in England should be afforded by an uncle and nephew. Dionysius Exiguus published his Cycle in 527, and it was adopted in France perhaps a

[1] C.S. 32.

century later.[1] In 674 Benedict Biscop, by command of King Ecgfrith, a brother of Osric's father, Alchfrid, was building a monastery at Wearmouth, with the aid of masons whom he fetched from France. It is very probable that he brought the new reckoning back with him, and that Wulphere and Osric adopted it from him. Certainly Bede, who uses the era throughout his history, was a pupil of Benedict Biscop.

With regard to the succession of Leutherius and Hedda the Chronicles contain the following entries:—

"670. Hlothere obtained the Bishopdom over the West Saxons, Bishop Æthelbyrht's[2] nephew, and held it vii years. Bishop Theodore hallowed him."

"676. Ascwine died, and Hedda obtained the Bishopdom and Centwine obtained the Kingdom" of the West Saxons.

Bede (H. E. iv. 12.) relates that Hedda succeeded on the death of Eleutherius, having been consecrated by Theodore, in the city of London. It is evident, therefore, that Leutherius and Hedda were not Bishops at the same time. But this may only mean that the arrangements for the foundation of the monastery had been commenced before the death of Leutherius, which must have occurred in 676. The rest of the witnesses might all have signed in 676.

Æthelred, King of the Mercians, 675—704.

Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, 668—690.

Wilfrid, Bishop of Northumbria, 664—678, died 709.

Ergnuald, Bishop of London, 675—693.

Saxuulf, Bishop of Lichfield, 675—691.

A strong argument for the authenticity of the charter lies in the fact that no name of a Bishop of Worcester appears among the witnesses. As Osric expressed his intention of founding an episcopal see, there would have been an almost irresistible temptation to a forger to insert the name of the occupant of the see; but, owing no doubt to the death of Tatfrith, the Bishop-elect, Bosel, the first Bishop of Worcester, was not consecrated till about 680.

[1] *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, i. 853. [2] Of Dorchester.

The weight of authority is altogether in favour of the charter as genuine. Mr. Kemble passed it,[1] and it is the earliest charter except one that he did pass. Mr. Thorpe called it a charter "the genuineness of which there appears no reason to question."[2] Professor Earle prints it as a genuine document.[3] Mr. Freeman, on the other hand, rejects it, or speaks doubtfully.[4] If, however, it is genuine, then in 676 Bath was Mercian and not West Saxon; under Osric, King of the Huiccians, and Ethelred, King of the Mercians, soon to be cared for by a Bishop whose see was at Worcester, entirely severed from any connection either ecclesiastical or civil with Wessex.

Two documents are recorded in the Bath book as dating from this period. One is a grant from Uighard to the Abbess Bernguidis and to her monastery of forty manentes at Slæpi, dated in the fourteenth year of the reign of King Wulphere (672), in the month of October, in the ninth Indiction.[5] The other is a grant from Æthelmod, with the consent of King Æthelred, of twenty manentes near the Cherwell, to the Abbess Bernguidis and to Folcburg and to their monastery, dated in the month of October, in the ninth Indiction.[6] Both purport to be witnessed by King Ethelred and Archbishop Theodore, as well as by Putta, Bishop of Rochester and Hereford (669—688), and Bosel, Bishop of Worcester (680—691); and the donor, Æthelmod, also witnessed the later document. October fell in the ninth Indiction in 665 and 680. Kemble stigmatises both documents, the former no doubt rightly in its present shape, because the fourteenth year of Wulphere agrees neither with the Indiction nor with the witnesses; but it is not easy to see why the later document is condemned, for all the witnesses named might have signed in October, 680. For us, however, the interest of the documents lies in the fact that documents found in the Bath book, and therefore

[1] K.C.D. XII. [2] *Diplomatarium*, p. xx. [3] *Land Charters*, p. 6.
[4] *Cathedral Church of Wells*, pp. 36, 177.
[5] K.C.D. XIII., C.S. 28. [6] K.C.D. XXI., C.S. 57.

presumably connected with the Church of Bath, are witnessed by a Mercian King and Mercian Bishops.

The next document relating to Bath is a grant by "Cynulfus Rex Saxonum" to the brethren "fratribus" in the Monastery of St. Peter, at Bath, of five "mansiones" at North Stoke.[1] It is dated DCCCVIII., as though it were a grant of Kenulf of the Mercians, but the names of the witnesses clearly shew that the grantor was Cynulf, King of the West Saxons (755—786); as Cuthbert, Archbishop of Canterbury (740-758), also signed, the grant must have been made between 755 and 758, and all the witnesses named might have signed at that time. The name of Offa, King of the Mercians, appears as consenting to the grant, no doubt because Bath lay in his kingdom. But there is nothing, either in this document or in any other early authority, to support the oft-repeated statement that Offa either founded the monastery at Bath or converted it from a house of women into one of men. Offa could not have become king before 757, and very little is heard of him for some years after that time; as the brethren were in possession of the monastery at Bath by 758, no doubt the change had been effected before Offa's time.

We find Offa, however, dealing very effectively with Bath in 781.[2] Heathored, who became Bishop of Worcester in that year, had bought thirty cassates south of Avon from Cynulf, King of the West Saxons, and had apparently added them to the estates of the monastery at Bath. Thus a very considerable tract of West Saxon territory, extending south probably as far as Monkton Combe, had been annexed to a Mercian religious house. It is not likely that Offa would regard this condition of things with favour, for two years before he had won a victory over Cynewulf at Bensington, in Oxfordshire, with the probable result that all the West Saxon territory north of Thames passed to Mercia; and it would be clearly a weak point on the Mercian frontier, if Bath with a wedge of territory projecting into the

[1] K.C.D. CXCIII., C.S. 327. [2] K.C.D. CXLIII., C S. 241.

West-Saxon realm, should remain in ecclesiastical hands. Therefore we may suppose he determined to take possession of Bath, and at a gemot held at Brentford, before the change of Indiction in 781, he laid claim not only to Bath but also to other estates belonging to the see of Worcester—Stratford, Sture, Sture in Usmere or Kidderminster, Bredon and Homtune, on the ground that they pertained to him as of the inheritance of King Æthelbald. Unless this is simply a high-handed claim which Offa had no right to make, it is not easy to understand it. Sture, in Usmere, had indeed been granted by Æthelbald to Cyniberht to found a monastery in 736; but the gift of Ceolfrith, son of Cyniberht, of the estate to Worcester had been confirmed by Offa himself.[1] Bredon had been founded by Eanulf, grandfather of Offa, and had received large grants from Offa, several given only in 780.[2] Sture is the subject of some doubtful charters of Bishop Egwine.[3] Bath had been founded by Osric long before the time of King Æthelbald. It is, of course, possible that these estates had fallen into the hands of King Æthelbald in the period of confusion in the monasteries during his reign, but nothing is recorded which would show that Offa's claim had any foundation in fact.

However that may be, the claim was considered at an assembly attended by six "principes" or ealdormen—no doubt the ealdormen of the Mercians—and by every Bishop in England, and, as a result, Heathored surrendered his estate at Bath, together with the thirty cassates which he had purchased south of Avon, and Offa confirmed him in the possession of the other estates mentioned.

Bath now became a royal estate, belonging to the kings of the Mercians; and during the short reign of Egfrid, son of Offa, July 29th to December 17th, 796, he granted three cassates at Huntenatun to Æthelmund, Ealdorman of the Huiccians at Bath. The document occurs in two forms—one in the Cottonian M.S. Nero E. 1, placed by Kemble about

[1] K.C.D. LXXX., CXXVII., C.S. 154, 220.
[2] K.C.D. CXX., CXXXVIII., CXL., C.S. 210, 234, 236.
[3] K.C.D XXXIII., LXIV., C.S. 76, 130.

A.D. 1000, and the other in Heming's Chartulary. Both are Worcester authorities of good repute, and there seems to be no sound reason for doubting the genuineness of the charter.[1] It is worth noticing that among the witnesses appears Brihtric or Berhtric, King of the West Saxons. By another charter, Egfrid, at the request of Brihtric, sold for two thousand shillings the land of xxxv manentes at Purton in Braden to Malmesbury Abbey: this grant is dated 796 in the fourth Indiction. The fourth Indiction ended on August 31st; the grant must, therefore, have been made in the first month of Egfrid's reign, and as Berhtric signs both grants it is likely that the grant to Æthelmund was made about the same time, especially as he signs the grant of Purton to Malmesbury.

But the names of the witnesses would seem to show more than this; they include the King of the West Saxons and his Queen Eadburg, Egfrid's sister (who by her infamy deprived all future consorts of the West Saxon sovereigns of the title of Queen), the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of Winchester, Sherborn, Worcester, and the Bishop-elect of Lindsey. And when we find these magnates assembled in the first month of the reign of a new sovereign, it seems probable they were assembled to celebrate his accession to the kingdom. Egfrid had indeed been "hallowed to King" at the contentious Synod at Cealchythe in 787, when the Archbishopric of Lichfield was set up, no doubt by Higberht, prelate of that see; and he had signed charters in his father's lifetime as "Rex Merciorum,"[2] but he would hardly have entered on his actual reign without some religious sanction. Yet the name of Higbert, Archbishop of Lichfield, does not appear among the witnesses to the Bath Charter, neither indeed does that of any acting Mercian prelate except Heathored, the Bishop of the Huiccians, in whose province Bath lay, though Unwona, Bishop of Leicester, was certainly alive at the time. It

[1] K.C.D. CLXX., CLXXI., C.S. 277, 278.
[2] K.C.D. CLII., CLVII., C.S. 253, 257.

would almost seem as though Egfrid desired the sanction of Ethelheard, Archbishop of Canterbury, and that Higbert was either of set purpose excluded or stayed away by his own wish. In either case if Egfrid really entered on his reign at Bath it is a mark of the importance which was once more attached to the place; and if he wished to avoid the Archbishop of Lichfield, Bath would be a very likely place for him to choose.

Nothing more is heard of Bath for seventy years, when Burhred, King of the Mercians, held a gemot there on July 25th, 864, at which he sold land at Water Eaton, on the Cherwell, to Alhun, Bishop of Worcester. The Danes were pressing hardly on the Mercian kingdom, and no doubt Bath was chosen as the scene of the gathering on account of its remoteness from their attacks. Ten years later, in 874, the Danes took up their winter quarters at Repton; King Burhred fled from his country, and took up his abode at Rome, and from this time forward for more than two centuries it is very difficult to say whether Bath pertained to Mercia or Wessex.

In 906 the Parker MS. of the Chronicle tells us that Ælfred, Reeve of Bath, died; the hand in which the entry is written ends in 912,[1] so that it must be nearly contemporary, and we should suppose that either the place or the person must have been of considerable importance in the eyes of the Winton scribe. We might naturally think that it implied that King Edward took the district of Bath into his own hands; but Florence of Worcester, an excellent Mercian authority, tells us[2] that Æthelflæd, Lady of the Mercians, reigned over all the Mercian realm except London and Oxford, which her brother, King Edward, kept for himself.

We next come to the mention of Bath in the table of fortresses described in the paper on the "Origin of the Mercian Shires" (vol. xxi., pp. 51—55). Bath there appears as truly a border town with the great territory of

[1] Plummer, *Two Saxon Chronicles*, II., xxv.

[2] A.D. 912.

3,200 hides dependent upon it.[1] I have not seen any reason to doubt the correctness of the opinion expressed in that paper that the list was drawn up between the death of the Lady of the Mercians and that of King Edward, about 920; and that the area joined to Bath consisted approximately of some 700 hides of Somerset, the remaining 2,500 hides being drawn from the country north of Avon, including certainly the southern part of what is now Gloucestershire, and probably Herefordshire.

Here, then, is the first step in the return journey of Bath southwards. Its connection is still mainly Mercian, for it has probably taken the place of Gloucester under Æthelred and Æthelflæd; but it has stretched out its hand toward the south and annexed some of the territory which in due time will annex it. With regard to the Somerset district of 700 hides attributed to Bath, it is worth noticing that if Bath be credited with the thirty Somerset hides purchased by Heathored, and the *Domesday* hidage of the Hundreds north of Mendip, a total is reached very closely approximating to 700 hides. Thus:—

	H.	V.	F.
Bath, south of Avon	30	0	0
Bedminster Hundred	6	2	0
Keynsham ,, ...	104	0	0
Chew ,, ...	35	2	$3\frac{1}{4}$
Chewton ,, ...	135	1	0
Hartcliff ,, ...	82	0	0
Portbury ,, ...	84	0	2
Wellow } Divisions of ...	97	0	$0\frac{2}{3}$
Kilmersdon } Frome Hundred ...	94	3	0
	669	1	$11\frac{11}{12}$[2]

This is offered only for what it is worth; for as every student of *Domesday* knows, its figures are beyond all measure

[1] Maitland, *Domesday and Beyond*, 503.
[2] Eyton's *Somerset Domesday*, ii. 7, i. 162.

flexible in the hands of manipulators. But if anyone were to say that King Edward added to the military district of Mercian Bath the district of Somerset north of Mendip, he might draw some measure of comfort from the numbers given. It is worth noticing, moreover, in this connection that Mr. Eyton[1] considers that *Domesday* includes the manors of Wellow and Kilmersdon in the twenty hides of the borough of Bath. And it is likely enough that if King Edward did at this time annex some share of Somerset territory to Bath, he should definitely attach the capital manors of the nearest Hundreds to the borough.

We have now come to a period when all indications of a change of boundary must be very carefully noted; for it was almost certainly in the tenth century that Bath was transferred from Mercia to Wessex. It was certainly Mercian in 864, with almost equal certainty it was still so in the reign of Edward the Elder; but if as we have seen reason for believing the Mercian shire system came into existence early in the eleventh century, Bath was then already outside it.

King Æthelstan dealt more than once with Bath Abbey. In 931 he gave to it ten "mansas" at Priston and five at Cold Ashton, which he says had belonged to a certain Ælfred who early in his reign had tried to blind him at Winchester.[2] Ælfred, who may have been in Holy Orders, was sent to Rome to purge himself from the crime; but on taking oath of his innocence before the altar of St. Peter he fell to the ground, and died within three days at the English School. The great men of the English adjudged his lands to the King, who gave Priston and Cold Ashton to Bath Abbey, thinking he could make no better use of them than to give them to God and St. Peter, who had frustrated the plot and kept him safe.

On the west side of the Fosse, about five miles north of Bath, stand three stones, known as the "Three Shire Stones"; they mark the dividing line between Batheaston in

[1] *Somerset Domesday*, i. 153, 157. [2] K.C.D. CCCLIV., C.S. 670.

Somerset on the south, and the Gloucestershire parish of Marshfield on the north, while the Fosse divides these two parishes from the Wiltshire Colerne on the east. If we could discover the date when these stones were first set up, we should have an indication of the period when Bath and its appendages were severed from Mercia.

Now it is a very suggestive fact that in *Domesday* there is found a small Hundred known as "Edredestane Hundred," which contains the modern parishes of Marshfield, Old Sodbury and Chipping Sodbury, Dodington, Tormarton and West Littleton; that is to say, the parishes which lie in the south-eastern corner of Gloucestershire. This little Hundred was afterwards absorbed into its greater neighbour, the Hundred of Grimboldstow, or Grumbald's Ash. There is a strong temptation to connect the name of the Hundred with the "Three Shire Stones" at its south-eastern corner, and then to conclude that the stones were named after a certain Edred. Having gone so far, we might very naturally think that this was none other than King Eadred, who reigned from 946 to 955, and suppose that the stones were set up and the new boundary line to the north of Bath was laid down in his time. It is true that we have no record of any such dealing with Bath on the part of Eadred, but it would have been a very natural step for Dunstan to suggest and for Eadred to take. The treasure was kept at Glastonbury, and Bath as a West Saxon fortress would guard it against attacks from the north. As we have seen, King Æthelstan in 931 gave five "mansas" at Cold Ashton to St. Peter the Apostle and the venerable family at Bath. Cold Ashton is in Gloucestershire, though it is close to Bath; and at first sight it seems strange that if it belonged to the Church of Bath in the reign of Eadred, it was not included with it in Somerset. This difficulty is cleared up by a charter of King Eadwig,[1] in which he restores to the Church of St. Peter at Bath five "mansas" at Olveston, and a similar number at Cold Ashton, which he says King Æthelstan had

[1] K.C.D. CCCCLXI., C.S. 936.

given to the church, but which had lately been stolen from it. This so far tells in favour of the theory that Eadred separated Bath from Mercia, for it would have been altogether to the interest of the spoiler—no doubt someone in high position, and very possibly someone connected with Ælfred—that Cold Ashton should remain in Mercia severed as completely as possible from Bath.

Olveston and Cold Ashton appear in *Domesday* as the only possessions of the Church of Bath in Gloucestershire. With regard to the latter we are told that "two of its five hides are quit of geld by grant of Kings E. & W.," no doubt Kings Edward and William. Thus we see that Cold Ashton belonged to Bath Abbey in 931, and again in the reigns of Eadwig, Edward the Confessor, and William the Conqueror, but that it was lost to the Church at some time between 931 and 956; and we may be fairly sure that the boundary north of Bath must have been laid down at some time when Bath Abbey did not possess Cold Ashton.

This seems the best place to notice the story of the reception at Bath of refugee monks from the monastery of St. Bertin at St. Omer, which is told in Folcwin's "Gesta Abbatum S. Bertini," a chronicle written in 961 or 962.[1] "Whom [*i.e.*, the monks expelled from St. Bertin's because they refused to accept the reforms of Count Arnulf, 944 A.D.] King Athelstan receiving kindly, granted to them immediately the monastery which is called 'ad Balneos,' on this account chiefly that King Edwin, brother of the aforesaid noble King, had been buried in the monastery of St. Bertin. For in 933 this King Edwin, compelled by some trouble in his kingdom, took ship and passing over this part of the sea, a storm having risen and his ship being wrecked, was drowned, whose body, when it had been carried to the shore, Earl Adalolf brought to the monastery of St. Bertin for burial, because he was related to him. After his death King Athelstan, his brother, sent very many gifts to this place

[1] I owe this reference to the Rev. C. Plummer, C.C.C. Oxford.

as alms for him, and on this account he received the monks of the monastery kindly."[1]

There is no reason to doubt the story. Edwin certainly was a brother of King Athelstan, and the Peterborough Chronicle records that in 933 Eadwine Atheling was drowned at sea; while Adalolf or Adulph, being a son of Baldwin, Earl of Flanders, by Ælfthryth, daughter of King Alfred, was a cousin of Eadwin. The only real difficulty which arises is over the date of the arrival of the refugees, for if they arrived in 944 Edmond was King at that time; but no doubt he would be equally willing with Athelstan to welcome the monks who had cared for his brother's body. St. Bertin's was a Benedictine house, but though Folcwin's expression that the King granted the monastery at Bath to the refugee monks[2] would seem to imply that they took complete possession of it, it is clear that either they did not bring their Benedictine system with them, or that if they did it did not last long. For in 956 the Abbey was ruled by a Priest Wulfgar, for whose use King Eadwig reserved three of the thirty "mansas" which he bestowed on the monastery, and of course a Benedictine Abbot would not have been able to hold land in this way. Indeed the colony of refugees seems to have left no mark of its presence on the history of the Abbey.

There are extant four grants of land to Bath Abbey in 956 and 957 during the joint reign of Eadwig and Eadgar, but they throw no light on the position of Bath.

The period and circumstances under which the Church of Bath became Benedictine may perhaps throw some light upon its position at the time.

In 956 after the change of Indiction King Eadwig granted to the monastery at Bath thirty "mansas" at Tidenham,[3] reserving three for his priest Wulfgar, who presided over the monastery;[4] it is evident from this that the Church was not

[1] Pertz, *Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum*, xiii. 629.
[2] Concessit eis. [3] K.C.D. CCCCLII., C.S. 927.
[4] "Meo sacerdote Wulfgaro qui præest supradicto monasterio."

then Benedictine, but rather a House of Canons. The document is witnessed among others by "Eadgar regis frater." In 957 before the change of Indiction Eadwig granted on the petition of the venerable priest Wulfgar ten "mansas" at Bathford, "to the brethren[1] dwelling and serving God in the Monastery of St. Peter, Prince of the Apostles in Bath, which is acknowledged to be built with marvellous workmanship." The words would seem to point to recent work of restoration. This also is witnessed by Eadgar in the same way.[2]

In 965 King Eadgar granted ten "mansas" at Stanton Prior to Abbot Æscwig and St. Peter's Church "in urbe Achumanensi";[3] and in 970 he granted ten cassates at Cliftune to St. Peter's Church at Bath "for the use of the monks abiding there," in exchange for ten other cassates at Cumtun.[4] Æscwig is again mentioned as Abbot. He had signed two charters in 963,[5] which also bear the name of Athelwold, Abbot of Abingdon, who was consecrated to the see of Winchester on St. Andrew's Eve in that year, and he remained at Bath until his consecration to the see of Dorchester in 978.

The land-boundaries of Cliftune mention that it was bounded on the north by Avon, that the line then ran up the hollow way, and afterwards from the Wansdyke to the Fosse Street, and an estate with these boundaries could only lie immediately to the south of Bath. I have no doubt that it is now represented by Lyncombe, which appears in *Domesday* as *Lincume*, an estate of the Abbey of Bath rated at ten hides.

It is clear, then, that Bath Abbey was not Benedictine in 956, and that it had become a Church of Monks by 970; but it is not easy to say when the change was made. The Canons were driven from the West Saxon Minsters and replaced by monks in 964, and the same change was made in

[1] Cœnobitis. [2] K.C.D. CCCCLXIII., C.D. 1001.
[3] K.C.D. DXVI., C.D. 1164. [4] K.C.D. DLXVI., C.D. 1257
[5] K.C.D. DIII., MCXLIX., C.S. 1120, 1124.

most of the Huiccian Minsters in 969; but as we have seen, Æscwig was Abbot of Bath before the earlier of these changes. We may notice, however, that all the Huiccian Minsters which became Benedictine under St. Oswald received a dedication of St. Mary; the Abbey of St. Peter and St. Paul at Gloucester escaped because it did not become Benedictine till the reign of Cnut. There does not seem to have been such a change of dedication in the case of the West Saxon Minsters, and the fact that Bath Abbey kept its ancient dedication is strong evidence that it was regarded as a West Saxon Church, and therefore that Bath had already passed from Mercia to Wessex.

On the Feast of Pentecost, May 11th, 973, King Eadgar was crowned with great pomp at Bath. It is difficult to account, not only for the time, but also for the place of the function; Winchester or Kingston, or possibly Glastonbury, would have seemed a much more natural spot. If, indeed, the purpose was to mark the completed unity of the English people under one Crown, then Bath as a frontier town having connection both with Wessex and Mercia, yet a place which having never been a seat of government was unconnected with any idea of Mercian and West Saxon supremacy, and which possessed a church recently "mira fabrica constructum," would be a place where all might meet on equal terms. And this would be even more completely the case if the town had within living memory passed from Mercia to Wessex. But there is nothing in the records to show definitely on which side of the border line Bath then lay.

We may, however, perhaps learn something indirectly concerning the position of Bath from the account of the campaign of Swegen in the autumn of 1013. About August he sailed up the Trent to Gainsborough, and there all the people of the old Danish region north of Watling Street submitted to him. First the men of Lindsey; then the Northumbrians; then the men of the five boroughs, Leicester, Lincoln, Nottingham, Stamford, and Derby; and soon after the whole army north of Watling Street, so that

England was once more divided, as it had been after the battle of Ethandune, 134 years before. So far the conquest had been a peaceful one, but when Swegen found that he was not accepted in the old English district he crossed Watling Street as into a hostile land, working the most evil that any host might do. He went first to Oxford, which soon submitted; then to Winchester, where the burghers did the like; and from both places he received hostages. Then, having isolated London, he attacked it without success; and crossing into Wessex at Wallingford, he sat down with his forces at Bath, whither came Æthelmær, Ealdorman of the men of Devon, and the western thanes with him, and they all submitted and gave hostages. Then we are told "all the people held him for full king," an expression which would seem to imply some form of national acknowledgment by the assembled Witan; and it is certainly strange that Bath, which had witnessed in the coronation of Edgar at Pentecost 973 the accomplishment of the reunion of England, should, forty years later, be the scene of the deposition of his son, and the submission of the English to a foreign and heathen conqueror.

But the question arises, Why should Swegen have gone to Bath at all? For it is to be noticed that he did not invade the west country, he simply sat down at Bath and the western thegns came to him and submitted. There was evident method and purpose in the march of Swegen. He first captured Oxford. Now Oxford at this time was a place of very considerable importance. In 1015, at a great gemot held there, Ealdorman Eadric treacherously slew Siferth and Morcore, the chief thegns of the seven boroughs. In 1018 the Danes and English agreed at Oxford to Eadgar's law, that is to say to law as it was held in the days of King Eadgar; an agreement which is alluded to by Cnut in his letter to his people: "I will that all people, clerk and lay, hold fast to Eadgar's law, which all men have chosen and sworn to at Oxford."[1] In 1036, soon after the death of

[1] Earle, Land Charters, 231; Stubbs, Select Charters, 76.

Cnut, a gemot of all the Witan was held at Oxford, and Harold was chosen King of all England. We have seen that King Edward the Elder did not recognise the supremacy which had evidently belonged to Gloucester in the time of his brother-in-law, and that about 920 military authority over a large part of South-Western Mercia pertained to Bath. But we hear no more of any pre-eminence of Bath in Mercia, and it is probable that about the time of Cnut Oxford was reckoned the chief place in the Mercian realm, and that it was on that account that Swegen attacked it first. He next captured Winchester as being the ancient capital of the West Saxon realm. But it is evident that the submission of Winchester was not supposed to involve the submission of Devonshire and the West, or the hostages given at Winchester would have suffered when the western thegns delayed their submission; and we know that they did not so suffer, for all the hostages given to Swegen were put ashore by Cnut at Sandwich in the following year after they had been cruelly mutilated.

It is evident that we have here a survival of the ancient division of Wessex between the parts lying east of Selwood Forest and the parts lying to the west of it; the capture of Winchester involved the submission of the eastern, but not of the western, district. We find this distinction very clearly marked in the account which Florence of Worcester gives of the battle of Sherston soon after Midsummer, 1016. The men of Hampshire and part of Wiltshire, he tells us, fought for Cnut, while those of Dorset, Devon, and part of Wiltshire fought on the side of Edmund Ironside. The men of Somerset are not mentioned, but as King Edmund found his last resting-place in their great minster at Glastonbury, they no doubt fought for him, striking a last stroke for a losing dynasty, as they did long afterwards at Sedgemoor. The Wiltshire men were thus divided at Sherston, and the dividing line can hardly have been any other than that of the forest of Selwood. It would seem likely, then, that as the submission at Winchester involved that of Eastern

Wessex, so that at Bath involved Wessex west of Selwood; that, in fact, what Winchester was in secular matters to the east, that Bath was to the west. And the conclusion is by no means an unlikely one. After the time of Edward the Elder it is evident that the relative importance of Winchester waned. All the greater kings were buried elsewhere—Æthelstan at Malmesbury; Edmund, Edgar, and Edmund Ironside at Glastonbury; only Edred and Edwy lay at Winchester; while Edward the Martyr was buried at Shaftesbury, and his brother, Ethelred the Unready, had no inheritance in his death in the ancient soil of Wessex. If it is true that in the reign of Edred the hoard was kept at Glastonbury, that place must have gone far to usurp the position of Winchester both in Church and State. But Glastonbury among the marshes would have been an impossible site for a civil capital, and it is likely enough that when Bath was taken into Wessex it became the secular capital of the district west of Selwood. All this, however, is probability or improbability, and not certainty; for we have no certain evidence that Bath lay in Wessex before the Gheld Inquest of 1084, when we find the 115 hides of Bath duly entered as lying in Somerset.

So also in the *Domesday* record for Somerset, compiled two years later, we find Bath entered as belonging to the King in succession to Queen Edith, who had held it in the time of her husband, and who no doubt retained it till her death in December, 1075 It paid gheld, for it cannot have been reckoned among the ancient estates of the Crown in Queen Edith's time, but that it had formerly been such an estate is shewn by the fact that the third penny of the Crown pleas of Bath was still paid by the sheriff to the King as Earl in succession by escheat to Earl Harold.[1]

When Offa took possession of Bath in 781, it would have become a Royal estate, as it no doubt was when King Burhred held his gemot there in 864, and also when it appeared at

[1] For the *Domesday* status of Bath *see* Eyton, *Domesday Studies—Somerset*, i., 49, 72, 85, 106.

the head of a district of 3200 hides about 920, when Edgar was crowned there in 973, and probably when the western thegns submitted to Swegen there in 1013. It was not a Royal estate of Wessex when King Alfred made his will about 885, or it would appear in that document, and it must have ceased to be so when it was given to Queen Edith on her marriage in January, 1045, or subsequently. We may therefore sum up in this way the evidence for the probable date of the transference of Bath from Mercia to Wessex. It was certainly Mercian in 864, and with equal certainty it was West Saxon in 1084. It was not a West Saxon Royal estate about 885; as the head of a great military district, about 920, it appears as a border town with a Mercian connection largely predominating. On the other hand, when the Abbey became Benedictine its dedication was not changed as were the dedications of the Huiccian Churches, and the submission of the western thegns to Swegen there would seem to mark a West Saxon connection. We should be led, therefore, to place the transfer of Bath at some period in the half-century between 920 and 970; and if still more exactness were asked for, we should connect it with the Shirestones and the Hundred of Edredstanes, and place it during the reign of Edred, 946 to 955.

I once asked Mr. E. A. Freeman at what period he would consider that Bath was transferred, with a suggestion that possibly the transfer might have been connected with the foundation of the See of Wells; and his reply was as follows:—

"May 8th, 1887.

"Dear Sir,—I have often puzzled about that question of the movement of Bath to and fro, but without finding any certain clue. All trace of Mercian character must have gone long before *Domesday*, but I don't know when it went. I don't know whether the foundation of the See of Wells might not be used both ways.

"Believe me, yours faithfully,

"EDWARD A. FREEMAN."

As all the authorities referred to in this paper, except possibly the list of fortresses, must have been known to Mr. Freeman, it would seem that after considering them he must have thought that they gave no certain evidence with regard to the period or manner of the transfer of Bath. Still, it can do no harm to state the conclusion arrived at after a careful consideration of the facts of the case; for the very summary of the evidence may enable another to come nearer to the truth.

It is, however, a very remarkable thing that Bath did pass so silently, for during the period when it must have been transferred there can have been few places of greater importance in England. When its reeve died in 906, the event was recorded in the chronicles of the nation; about fifteen years later it appears as the fortress at the head of the largest recorded district. To Bath are assigned 3,200 hides, while the next largest district, Hampton and Winchester—no doubt, Hampshire,—contained only 2,400 hides; and the largest district attached to a single centre, that of Bridian (Bridport or Bredy) in Dorset, with 1,760 dependent hides, was supported by little more than half the hidage of Bath. In 973 it was chosen as the scene of the coronation of Edgar, the great outward mark of the unity of the peoples of England. Half a century later thegns came 'thither even from distant Devon to submit to Swegen. In *Domesday*, it is manifestly the capital of Somerset. If it is difficult to fix a date for the transference of Bath from Mercia to Wessex, it is at least as difficult to account for the silence with which the change was effected.

But the greatness of Bath did not long survive the Conquest. In 1088 Giso, Bishop of the men of Somerset, died, and in July of that year John of Tours was consecrated at Canterbury, by Archbishop Lanfranc, in his room. Ælfsige, Abbot of Bath, had died in 1087, and Bishop John obtained from William Rufus a grant of the Abbey of Bath for the increase of the Bishopric of Somerset, that he might place his episcopal seat there. The grant was made at

Winchester in 1088, and confirmed at Dover on January 27th, 1090. Shortly afterwards he granted the City of Bath to Bishop John for the increase of his episcopal see, and that with fullest honours he might have his pontifical throne there.[1] Of course it added to the dignity of Bath that the see of Somerset should be set in the Abbey, but when the city was granted to the see it ceased to be the capital of Somerset, and became a mere ecclesiastical borough as it had been before the days of Offa. Moreover, its ecclesiastical glory in Somerset was not long lived. Bishop John began a mighty church, which he was not able to finish. The superiority of Bath over Wells sank into nominal equality in the time of Bishop Roger by the decree of Pope Innocent IV., issued at Lyons on January 3rd, 1245; but, inasmuch as before that time Wells had become the chief place of residence for the Bishop, Bath was henceforward practically in a subordinate position. Its degradation was completed by the surrender of the Abbey on January 27th, 1539, and the Act of Parliament (34 and 35 Henry VIII., cap. 15),[2] by which the Chapter of Wells was declared to be the sole Chapter of the Bishopric of Bath and Wells. Since 1543 then the ecclesiastical supremacy of Bath has shrunk to a mere shadow of a name, as its temporal pre-eminence had departed some four hundred and fifty years before. The ancient borough is now a Niobe of the borderland, ever weeping hot tears of regret for her high dignity in the Mercia which she left, and of disappointment at her degradation in the Somerset which she entered.

It is necessary, in conclusion, to consider what is meant by the "Bath" whose history we have been considering. We have seen that there was no connection except that of locality between the Roman town of Aquæ Sulis and the Huiccian settlement which followed it. We have, therefore, only to take Osric's Charter as our starting point. We find Osric granting the land of "centum manentes" in 676 to

[1] Dugdale, *Monasticon*, ii. 266, 267.
[2] Dugdale, *Monasticon*, ii. 293.

Bertana to found a Monastery of Holy Virgins. In 781 we find Heathored, Bishop of Worcester, granting to King Offa the land of "xc. manentes" at Bath, besides xxx. cassates, south of Avon, which he had bought for a fair price from Cynewulf, King of the West Saxons. And we naturally conclude that the estate north of Avon which Heathored granted away was the same which Osric gave, less the land of ten "manentes" which in some way had been lost. We see that during the first century after Osric's gift the estate had been kept together fairly well, and some property, as for example North Stoke, had been recovered after it had passed away. Only the land of ten "manentes" out of the hundred had been altogether lost. Considering the disorganised state of the monasteries during the eighth century, and the frequent attempts to plunder them on the part of powerful men, it is remarkable that the loss was not much greater.

The following table (p. 156) of the estates which lay in the Hundred of Bath in *Domesday* is adapted from the table given in Eyton's *Somerset Domesday*, ii. 13, 14. It is to be noted, however, that though the hidage of Kelston is of necessity included, the modern acreage is omitted, because there are no materials available for calculating the acreage recorded in the survey. In the same way the *Domesday* acreage of White-ox Mead is omitted, because it is impossible to ascertain the corresponding portion of the manor of Wellow.

North Stoke and the three estates which follow were certainly contained in the *Domesday* hundred of Bath, though they are not expressly named. Of these South Stoke, an estate of the Abbey of Bath, with its chapel of Monkton Combe, is no doubt represented, at any rate in part, by the manor of Woodwick in Freshford; for the 1,757 statute acres contained in South Stoke, Monkton Combe, and Combe Down answer well to the 1,514 acres registered in the Survey under the heads of Wdewica and Cuma. St. Catharine's, no doubt, answers to one of the Batheaston

HUNDRED OF BATH IN "DOMESDAY."

ESTATE.	OWNER.	MODERN SITUATION.	HIDAGE. H.	V.	F.	ACREAGE. MODERN.	DOMESDAY.
Burgum quod Vocatur Bada	Rex	Borough of Bath and Walcot ...	20	0	0		
Caput Abbatiæ	Abbot of Bath	Abbey Fee ...					12
Lincuma ...	Ditto	Lyncombe and Widcombe ...	10	0	0	3348	1190
Wica	Alured ..		2	0	0		375
Wica	Bishop of Coutances	Bathwick ...	1	0	0		120
Wica	Ditto		4	0	0		650
Wllega added to Wica ...	Ditto	Woolley	1	0	0	366	260
Heorleia ...	Hugolin Interpreter	Ditto	1	0	0		390
Westona ...	Abbot of Bath	Weston	15	0	0	2600	1340
Westona ...	Ernulf de Hesding	Ditto	5	0	0		943
Forda	Abbot of Bath	Bathford	10	0	0	1823	1212
Cuma	Ditto	Monkton Combe and Combe Dn.	9	0	0	720 173	1112
Tatewica ...	Will Hosatus...	Tadwick in Swainswick	1	2	0	845	130
Tatewica ...	Radalfusfrater .. Rogeri de Bercleia		0	2	0		121
Firforda... ...	Bishop of Coutances	Freshford... ...	2	2	0		414
Fescheforda ...	Roger de Corcelle	Ditto	0	2	0	561	138
Fescheforda ...	Ditto	Ditto	0	2	0		182
Wdewica ...	Abbot of Bath	Ditto Woodwick	2	2	0		402
Lancheris ...	Bishop of Coutances	Langridge ...	2	2	0	656	734
Estona	Rex	Batheaston ...	2	0	0		1490
Estona	Abbot of Bath	Ditto	1	2	0	1863	242
Estona	Hugolin Interpreter	Ditto	3	0	0		600
Hamtona ...	Abbot of Bath	Bathampton ...	5	0	0	932	908
Cerlacuma ...	Ditto	Charlcombe ...	4	0	0	571	495
Clafertuna ...	Hugolin Interpreter	Claverton... ...	5	0	0	1243	860
Witochesmeda	Roger de Corcelle	White-ox-mead, in Wellow ..	1	0	0		
		North Stoke ...		...		778	
		South Stoke ...		...		864	
		St. Catharine's		...		1041	
		Soper's Farm, in Walcot ...		...		186	
		Kelston	5	0	0	...	
			115	0	0	16,670	14,320

manors, probably to that of Hugolin. North Stoke does not appear in the record; it would have been an estate of the Abbey of Bath, rated at about five hides, and it is not easy to see where it could come in. It is easy, but not justifiable without clear evidence, to suggest that it is altogether omitted. Swainswick, apart from Tatwick, also does not appear. But since it appears in 1362 as a possession of Sir Matthew Gournay, I have no doubt that it is represented in part in the record by the manor of Wica, rated at one hide, held under the Bishop of Coutances by Nigel de Gurnai. It has not seemed necessary, however, to alter Mr. Eyton's arrangement. It is clear, nevertheless, that Kelston nowhere appears in the *Somerset Domesday*. The Round Hill was also called Henstridge Hill, and the estate first appears in the Shaftesbury Register as granted in 950 by King Adred to his thegn Brihtric under the name of Hengstesrig, estimated to contain the land "v. caractorum." King Eadred died in 955, but the grant is badly written, and the error of one year may very easily have been made.[1] The Abbess of Shaftesbury appears in the Gheld Inquest of 1084 as holding three hides in demesne in the Hundred of Bath, and the Abbey held Kelston till the Dissolution. We may say with certainty that it nowhere appears in Somerset *Domesday*; it may, however, of course, have been included in some other Shaftesbury estate, possibly in connection with the Abbess' great manor of Bradford-on-Avon. But it is necessary to reckon five hides as belonging to Kelston to make up the total of 95 hides which the Inquest attributes to the Hundred of Bath outside the borough in 1084.

We have seen that Mr. Eyton considers it probable that the manors of Wellow and Kilmersdon, as being the capital manors of two of the ancient hundreds of Somerset, were annexed to the borough of Bath. We are not, however, certain that this was so; and in any case we do not know what addition, if any, was made to the hidage of the borough

[1] K.C.D. CCCCLV., C.S. 923.

on this account. It will be better, therefore, to take the 115 hides which *Domesday* attributes to the borough and hundred of Bath as the equivalent at that date of the 100 manentes of Osric's grant, and the 90 manentes of that of Heathored, with the addition in each case of the 30 cassates south of Avon which Heathored had purchased. We see, then, that *Domesday* Bath had lost 15 holdings since the time of Osric, of which five had disappeared since the time of Heathored. It is a striking mark of the permanence of land boundaries before the Conquest that the change had been so slight.

The evidence of local names, too, marks the Hundred of Bath as an united territory from very ancient times. In the centre is Bath itself, "Hat Bathu" of Osric's Charter, with its Wíc or appendant dwelling-place across the river; Batheaston on the one side and Weston, with Kilweston or Kelston, on the other; Bathampton marking even until now the site of the Bath of the elder time on Hampton Down before the people came down to the hot springs in the valley, and Bathford preserving by its name the tradition of the point where the Fosse once crossed the river; North Stoke guarding the approach along the Ridgeway on the one side and by the ancient road through Bitton from the sea on the other, and South Stoke standing sentinel by the Wansdike and the Fosse on the south. Nearer home, Charlcombe marks the valley where the ceorls abode, and Swainswick the dwelling-place whence the swine went out to feed; while Shockerwick,[1] on the extreme eastern border, may be a name of evil omen coming down from the ancient heathen time before Bertana and her holy maidens settled by the hot springs. As Osric puts it: "Ubi truculentus et nefandus prius draco errorum deceptionibus serviebat, Nunc versa vice ecclesiasticus ordo in clero conversantium domino patrocinante gaudens tripudiet." Shockerwick is the furthest

[1] Scucca or Sceocca, an evil spirit; the name would thus seem to mean the abode of evil spirits. Scuccanhlau is mentioned in a charter purporting to be of Offa (K.C.D., CLXI., C.S. 264), and Sceoca bróc, found in an Exeter charter (Earle, *Land Charters*, p. 329), is no doubt now represented by Shobrook, near Crediton.

point from the Abbey in the Hundred of Bath. There is hardly any other district in England where we can trace so clearly the process of colonisation from a centre.

We recognise the portion of Somerset north of Avon as the land of the hundred "manentes" which Osric, who had been born a heathen, dedicated to the service of God. And we think of Bertana and her companions settling now twelve hundred and twenty-five years ago on the very site of the perished Roman city, and building their church in the midst of its idolatries hard by its Hot Baths. Then we think how they and their successors went out to replenish the earth and subdue it, bringing it back piece by piece into cultivation; and how they called their lands by their own names, but always with reference to their minster, which stood on the edge of the Bath. And we of Bristol and Gloucestershire remember that the men and women who did this, who thus created the territory of Bath as we know it, were Mercians and not West Saxons, that Mercians laboured and West Saxons have entered into their labours. The Bath which the West Saxons took back was indeed a goodly heritage, but it owed its goodliness to Mercian skill and Mercian industry.

But of the 115 hides which the Mercians brought under cultivation or purchased barely half remained to the abbey in *Domesday*. These were the remnants of the ancient estate:—

	H.	V.
*Lincuma	10	0
Westona	15	0
*Forda	10	0
Cuma	9	0
Wdewica	2	2
Estona	1	2
*Hamtona	5	0
Cerlacuma	4	0
	57	0

And even of these estates, those marked * had at one time been lost to the Abbey. In 970 King Eadgar granted Lyncombe, under the name of Cliftune, to the Abbey in exchange for property elsewhere; in 956 King Edwy granted to his friend Hehelm five "mansas" at Hamtun, and in 957 he granted to the abbey ten "mansas" at Forda.[1] On the other hand, some of the estates which did not pertain to the Abbey in *Domesday* had evidently belonged to it at an earlier time. About 957 King Edwy restored to the Abbey five hides at Weston which had been stolen from it; these may be part of the fifteen hides attributed to the Church in the Survey, more probably they are the five hides which then belonged to Ernulf de Hesding. The land at Hengstesrig or Kelston granted by King Eadred to Brihtric is said to have been "divino jure" free from all services except the inevitable three; it was therefore no doubt Church land which had belonged to the Abbey at Bath, and the grant to Brihtric led at last to the robbery of St. Peter of Bath to pay St. Mary of Shaftesbury, or, as William of Malmesbury put it in the case of the Cathedral at Worcester, the Claviger Paradisi was forced to give way to the Janitrix cœli. No doubt the chief loss of the Abbey lands took place after Offa assumed possession of Bath, and perhaps it is wonderful that after three centuries the Abbey still retained possession of as much as half the property which Heathored surrendered.

It is recorded in the Register of the Priory of Bath that Bishop Reginald (1174—1191), of blessed memory, among other good deeds for the church of Bath, obtained for it the body of St. Euphemia, virgin and martyr, and many relics of the saints with ivory chests for them. Euphemia was martyred by being cast to wild beasts at Chalcedon in 307; the fourth Œcumenical Council was held in her church, and the assembled fathers attributed the success of their efforts against Eutychianism to her prayers. Her body must have been of almost priceless value, but Bishop Reginald was wealthy and influential, and visited Rome several times;

[1] K.C.D. DLXVI., CCCCXL., CCCCLXIII., C.S. 1257, 973, 1001.

no doubt he felt that the presence of her relics would be a perpetual safeguard for the soundness of the teaching which would be given in the church of Bath. Also he founded a light to burn before the Body of the Lord and the relics of the saints, and assigned for its maintenance forty shillings from the church of Banwell at the hands of the canons of Bruton. It seemed therefore no unfitting thing that an attempt to throw some light, however little, on the early history of Bath should come from a spot which the Bishop of the diocese linked by a bond of service to the Abbey more than seven centuries ago, and where the vision of Bishop Oliver King passed for him into reality.[1]

[1] Bishop Oliver King died at his Court-house in Banwell on August 29th, 1503.

A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE STAINED AND PAINTED 16TH AND 17TH CENTURY GLASS, AT TODDINGTON HOUSE.

By ST. CLAIR BADDELEY.

The Glass at Toddington which fills four sides of a Cloister, and certain other windows on the ground-floor, may be referred to four nationalities: English, Flemish, German, and Swiss, but by far the greater quantity pertains to the latter.

The English Glass consists of several 16th century circular medallions bearing the Arms (and motto) of England, quarterly, with a label for Edward VI.; or with initials right and left, crowned, for Henry VIII. and Katharine (Parr). These are believed to have belonged to Sudeley Castle in the days of the Seymours. The great (restored) window on South side (stairs), representing the Last Judgment, was said to have been brought from a church (St. Nicholas) at Rouen; though this may be doubted, seeing that it is Flemish Glass of the late 16th century. It was bought in London.

The rest of the Glass, which is often highly pictorial, has been manufactured at Nürnberg, Basle, Zurich, Berne, and elsewhere in the formerly German portion of the Confederation of thirteen Cantons (1481—1798). This Confederation was once dependent, as is well known, upon the Empire, and consisted of Lucerne, Zug, Glarus, Zurich, Berne, Uri, Schwytz, Unterwalden, Fribourg, Solothurn, Basle, Schaffhausen, and Appenzell. Its Dependency, however, after A.D. 1500, continued relaxing, until in 1648 a formal Independence became established. As the greater portion of the panels and medallions belongs to the period contained between these two dates, we cannot be surprised at the frequent recurrence of the Imperial Insignia, as well as of the Imperial Tinctures,—Or and Sable.

Some of the Glass has derived from private houses, it having been a Swiss custom to make Occasional presents of Glass; some, from Municipal and Corporation buildings; while certain large and important pieces have come from various Churches and Monasteries. It may be, therefore, helpful to mention the more pre-eminent Religious establishments of Switzerland, and likewise, those Patron-Saints who are likely to be met with in Swiss Glass of this period, whether Domestic, Municipal, or Sacred.

St. Gall, in Appenzell (Abbatis Cella), was a great Benedictine House, ruled by a Prince-Abbot, whose territories extended far and wide. The Saint was of Irish origin (A.D. 550), and a disciple of St. Columba. He is often called the 'Apostle of the Swiss.'

Einsiedeln (A.D. 831) became a Benedictine rival of St. Gall, and its Abbot was also styled 'Prince.' Münster, in the Grisons, possessed a Nunnery of the same order. The Cistercians were represented at Wettingen. The Dominican order owned a flourishing convent at Berne; where also was a centre for the military Teutonic Order. (Cf. a panel in the window near South door.) Secular Canons were at Beromünster, Solothurn, Luzern, and Gross Münster.

The favourite Saints of Switzerland, besides St. Gall, are St. Oswald, St. Maurice (of the Theban Legion), St. Leodegar (of Autun), St. Felix and St. Regula (Swiss Martyrs), St. Anthony, and St. Martin. The last-named was the Patron-Saint of Schwytz, as St. Maurice and St. Urs (of the Theban Legion) are of Solothurn, and St. Leodegar is of Luzern. Zürich flourishes under SS. Felix and Regula: Geneva, under St. Peter, as also does Unterwalden; while St. Lawrence protects Bülach, and St. Michael, Beromünster. St. Oswald, is of course, the Saxon Royal Saint, so well-famed in Gloucester, as elsewhere. St. Leodegar was a martyred Bishop of Autun (d. 678).

The subject of the murder of Wolfenschiess of Rossberg, the Imperial Seneschal, in his bath at a cottage, the

domestic virtue of which he had invaded, is illustrated in two separate panels. In Act, I. Scene, 1. of 'Wilhelm Tell,' Schiller has made good dramatic use of the incident.

The favourite subject of St. Martin dividing his cloak with the Beggar will be found to occur here far more frequently than any other, and the treatment varies considerably.

The mediæval Arms on seals of certain of the Swiss towns sometimes assist the understanding of their later heraldic bearings, so the following may be mentioned:— Berne, a bear striding; Luzern, a bend sinister, with three roses; Interlaken, a Steinbock; Schaffhausen, a buck, salient; Winterthur, a bend between the two lions of the ancient Kyburg family; Basle, a Bishop's staff; Uri, a bull's head, full face; Thun, a fortress with two round towers; Rapperswill, argent, two red roses; St. Gall, a bear (the 'Freiherr von Rusegg' bear), sa. a unicorn, argent. The cross (red on white) is borne by Constance. (Cf. *Geschichte der Heraldischen Kunst in der Schweiz.* By Paul Ganz.)

The Glass is said to have been purchased at two francs a parcel some sixty years ago by the second Lord Sudeley, while sojourning in Switzerland. It was set up here, in these 19th century cloisters, at a later date by an Evesham glazier. Fine collections of a similar nature belong to the Museums of Luzern, Nürnberg, and the Hôtel Clûny, at Paris, as well as to the Duke of Anhalt-Dessau, at Wolfenbuttel. There is some also at Buckingham Palace, and at Goodrich Court, near Ross.

The richness of the diaper grounds in the large panels, and the enduring brilliance of the enamelling in the miniature medallions, must appeal to every eye. As Winston has remarked, 'The Swiss enamels are the only ones which seem to perfectly resist the action of the atmosphere.' Depth of colour and transparency are excellently achieved, and it must be regretted that, owing to their present inappropriate positions, many of the more exquisitely finished medallions here cannot be properly appreciated. It would

almost seem as if those who 'arranged' these windows had acted on the strange principle that the pieces which display delicate detail of figure and landscape, or complete pictures in miniature, ought to be furthest removed from the eye of the spectator, and those exemplifying coarser scale and technique ought to be thrust into prominence. The result forms a remarkable jumble, for which, however, we cannot but be thankful, trusting, at the same time, that the Companies, in whose hands responsibility for its preservation at present lies, will take intelligent measures for its complete safeguarding. The mansion has remained empty for a long while, and glass, however long-enduring, is apt to become loose in its setting with exposure to English weather.

It has occurred to the writer that a brief vocabulary of some of the continental equivalents of our heraldic terms would be helpful to those who desire to go further into the study of foreign armorial glass; he has therefore ventured to append to this paper some of the more important terms.

I take this opportunity of returning thanks to Mrs. Wedgwood, of Stanton Court; to the Rev. W. D. Stanton, Rector of Toddington; to Mr. C. Wise (Agent for the aforesaid Companies), and to the Caretaker at Toddington House, for courtesies and hospitality received.

North Side (1).

(1) Circular Medallion. S. MICHAEL and the last Judgment. ZU STEINHVSEN. 1673. Arms: SA. a Tau cross, or, between two stars, or.

The town of S. GALLEN. The Imperial Arms: Over two shields, arg. a BEAR, SA. Two figures. W.S.P. 1655.

A Panel. St. URS, with his standard. Representation of a besieged city. In the landscape, a bridge spanning a river. Upon it several soldiers are being beheaded, and falling one by one into the river, they are seen swimming shoreward with their heads in their

hands. Below are 14 shields of burghers. Inscribed: HERR PROBST (Provost) BVND S. VRSEN ZU SOLOTHVRN 1564.

Panel. UDALRICVS, MARCHIO DE LENZBVRG (Dotator) S. MICHEL. BEROCOMES (Fundator) Probst und Capitel (chapter) S. MICHEL ZU MVNSTER ANNO, 1688. A man upon the ground being eaten by a bear. Arms: Gu. a bend, or, and in chief, a lion ramp. arg.

(2) Centre. Circular Medallion. Knight in white armour bearing a standard displaying the figure of the Virgin. The Virgin and child appear to him with a Beatified bishop (S. Leodegar?), bearing sword and crosier, 1722.

Panel. An episcopal shield, mitred. Arms: quarterly, 1 and 3, Arg. a crosier-top, gu.; 2 and 4, Paly, gu. and arg.

Panel. A KNIGHT, with a coroneted lady, richly dressed.

Arms: Gu. a chevron, or, between three mullets, sa. Crest: A helmet with two wings erect, arg. 1550. EHRHART VON . . . Supporters: A coronetted youth, and a halberdier.

Panel. Arms: A mitred shield. Supporters: A lion, arg., a griffin, or. DER LOBLICHEN und wohledelichen stifft bei CHRISTOF von BOTTES. DER RICHENOWER. 1558. Shield: quarterly, 1 and 3, Arg. a cross, gu.; 2 and 4, Arg. a female figure, counterchanged, gu.

(3) Circular Medallion. Angels ministering to Jesus in the desert. 1678. CASPAR FVRCHER ZU MENZINGEN.

Panel. A City with several churches, sloping to a lake (Zug?) Two shields together. Arms: Az. two crossed rapiers, or, piercing a garland, DIE STATT VND. . . . Supporters: Two lions ra. or. 'Fridervert und Friderzert' (Peace and tenderness).

Panel. Arms: Arg. (diapered) a crosier-top, sa. Supporters, two figures. Above it, 'Justitia,' blindfold, with balance and sword. 1580.

Panel. JOHAN BERNARD REVER und MARIA CECILIA, SEIN hussfrau. Statt LUZERN. Figures of St. CECILIA and S. BERNARD. Arms: Two shields, (1) quarterly, 1 and 4, Or. an 'M' sa.; 2 and 3, Arg. two wings erect; (2) Or, H. O. sa.

North Side (2).

Window of Three Lights, simple:—

(1) (1) Virgin and child in Vesica-Nimbus.
(2) David and Goliath. Small circular Medallion. Inscribed: DAVID. RAM. 1578.

(2) Central (1) A bishop, coped, crosiered, and mitred, kneeling in a landscape. Diapered maroon background.
(2) Small panel. Adoration of the Magi.

(3) (1) In a landscape, a bishop standing, mitred and vested.
(2) Small circular Medallion. The Resurrection. Sleeping soldiers. HANS JACOB HIRNNERSWADEL der zitteschwyber. Fr. CLOSTER, und DOROTHEA SCHWARTZING. 1587.

North Side (3) in three divisions:—

(1) Circular Medallion. Moses and table of the law.? Fides. Temperantia. Die gemeind ZU WERISCHYFEN. 1593.

Two Shields:—
(1) ... ...
(2) A fess raguly, sa. and or.

Panel with Imperial arms and Supporters, above two shields, per bend, arg. and az. Figures of FIDES and CHARITAS.

Another, with the shields and knight supporters of CONRATT ESCHER, alter Landtvogt in Badiser Z̈yt dess Raths, etc.

STATT ZV̈RICH beneath a shield, Or, with Imperial eagle, sa.

(2) Centre. Medallion representing the Art of Cookery.

Beneath a square panel, with Coronation of Virgin, CASPAR BRVNNER, LANDT WEHEL in der MARCK. 1601. Arms: Az. a fountain, arg.

Panel. Three men in the fiery furnace. HAVKSHERER RICHTER ZU RATHWYL. 1659. Arms: Az. a star, a heart, a crescent, above an arrow-plume, or.

Large central Panel. Crucifixion, with figures of Ave Regina Misericordiæ and St. John. (German.) (*See* Illustration.)

Beneath are two small panels:—

(1) Susannah and Elders. Eberhart Blatner, Burgermeister ZU ERMATTINGEN, 1634. Arms: Az. a flower, or.

(2) S. Francis receiving the Stigmata. FRANTZ SVDTER, Landrichter der Grosschafft Dogenburg, and MARIA BARBARA KUOTZIN, sein Ehe, H. C. G. Arms: (1) Or, a double Tau cross; (2) Az. a fleur-de-lis, or, a squirrel, arg., a crown, or.

(3) Circular Medallion. The finding of Moses. Arms: Gu. a ram. ra., arg.

Square Panel. Arms of the Empire, with Supporters, surrounded by 22 shields of towns, including those of Griffensee, Winterthur, Radischwyll, Steinegg, Elgg, and Friamptt.

A Panel. Herr Christof STADEL, alter ammeister zu Strasburg, Got, Geb. GNAD. MDCVI. Figures of Justice and Prudence. Arms: Arg. a bend, gu. Supporters, two lions ra. or. Helmeted, issuant from a coronet, a pair of wings, arg.

A Panel. DIE HOCH LOBLICHE STATT LVZERN. Anno, 1688. Virgin and child, in Nimbus. R and L Figures of St. Maurice and St. Leodegar. Two shields. Arms: (1) Party per pale arg. az.; (2) Same. Supporters: Two lions rampant, or.

South Side (1).

(1) Circular Medallion. Baptism of Jesus. Herr Joān Jacob STOCKER. Sextaris des Lobwurdig Capitels Hochdorff und Pfarherz, Zug. 1660. Arms: quarterly, Sa., three antlers, or, fesswise; 2 and 3, Sa. a cross flory, arg. between two antlers, or.

Panel. A small Scene: A Tournament on foot. A Standard-bearer, richly dressed and armed. CONRAD ZMANETT. Blue diaper ground. Arms: Or, a trademark, sa.

Panel. A small Scene: Arquebusiers and ordnance. FORG LANDOLT und JACOB BÜCHER. 1604. Arms: Or, a bunch of grapes, az., and a sickle, arg.

An Architectural Panel. Arms: Arg. and az., the letter k, or. A cock, gu., having a cross, or, on wattle and comb; beaked and clawed, or. Crest: A demi-halberdier, striped or and gules.

Panel. Three men, elaborately armed and posed, with some cattle above. Ulrich STVCKE, des Raths, Zu GLARVS. 1603. Arms: Within a bordure, gules, arg. a dart bendwise, gu., inscribed "Aller denen die mich Kevend, denen wünsch ich was sei mir govend."

A Square Panel. A knight and dame. HANS KVNTZLI und Barbell Strehlin, sein egmahell. 1612. Inscribed. Above it, St. John the Baptist being beheaded, and his head being brought to Herod. Arms: Or, a cock's leg, sa.

(2) Centre. JOHANN VLRICH. Custos und thorherr loblichen Bestifft Zu Baden. 1696. As: Gu., arm fleur-de-lis, arg.

An Architectural Panel. Cherubs supporting a sable cardinal's hat over Arms: Within a bordure, or, sable, a double fleur-de-lis, or. A sainted oriental Potentate. S. Benedict. Arms: Sa. a fleur-de-lis, or.

Circular Medallion. Arms of Berne, having two bears sable as Halberdiers, clothed and armed, arg. and gules, for supporters. Shield: Sa. diapered, an arched gateway, sa.

A Square Architectural Medallion, displaying 32 shields of towns, inclosing Imperial Arms and Supporters. 1602. Above two shields tranché arg. and azure, counterchanged. Inscribed: "Des Herzen wort blÿbt Lewiglich" (=Heart's worthiness endures); "Dess sol der glaubig Trösten sich," *Isaiah* 40 (=This should console him who believes.

(3) Circular Landscape Medallion. Christ preaching to the multitude. Herr LODOVICUS SCHERER gewessner Camerer BVND. 1660. PFARH—MEL—LINGEN. Arms: Per fess, or, in chief, a demi-unicorn, arg. az., a dual triangle star, or.

Panel: Herr Hans Stöckly. 1589. Some waggons being driven. Arms: Arg. a star above reversed crescent, or.

Panel. A burgher with two ladies. Hans Hauptmann von ALTNORRSAMPT MUOTTER TYRISA und ihr Thocter MARIA. 1611. Arms: Gu. a tradesign between H. H. sable.

Large Panel. Arms: Gules, two crossed battleaxes, or and arg. A parti-coloured Halberdier, gu. and or.

Panel. Scene: Three men at supper, waited on by a dame. Albrecht FORG FAGELL STÜFFY (?) Two men-at-arms. Arms: (1) Gu. a dove, arg. (2) Per pale arg. and gules, a pair of cow's horns counterchanged.

Panel. Scene: Three men with some cattle. Ulrich STÜCKY des Raths zu GLARVS. 1603. (Replica of a panel in same window.)

(Inscr.) "Allen denen die mich Kevendt denen Wunsch Ich was sei mir Cronen" (=The good wishes of my friends make my crown.)

SOUTH SIDE (3).

Large Cloister light, in three divisions.

(1) Panel. Johann Fost MÜLLER und Euphemia Müllerin, sein erste, und frau Maria Barbara Huober . . . Zug. A flowering landscape, with trees. Two cupids: one as Death, and one as Life. Three small shields, with trade-marks, or.

A Panel. Cattle ploughing. Below, figures of a knight and a lady offering him a goblet. HANS ULRICH STRENG und ANNA ALBERLY, sin ehegemal. 1560.

A Panel. Mules packed and muzzled, travelling. Below it, figures of a knight and dame. KLAVS WAGNER und CATHERINA OBERWILARY. Sein ehliche Haüssfrout. 1610. Arms: Ar. a trade-mark, or and arg.

A large Architectural Panel with two Shields. (1) Az. two crossed spades between four stars, or. Crest: A demi-man, girdled, carrying a spade, counter-changed or and azure. (2) Within a bordure, or, a demi-Hercules, gules, clubbed, or, and in base, or, lozengy, gules.

Small Panel. ALEXANDER EGG und ROSINA HOFFSTAETERIN. 1680. H. G. G. Two shields: (1) Arg. a fleur-de-lis, or; (2) Az. a house, arg. Four verses.

Panel. A small Scene: Drummers and fifers. Shield: Paly of three. Gu. a dart, sa.; purpure, and gules. RUDOLF ZAŸ, der zitt LANZ . . . ZU GLARVS. 1596. His figure as a Standard-bearer. Standard: Gules, having a cross argent, between four stars, or.

(2) Centre. A Circular Medallion. Landscape with a Castle. The Martyrdom of S. George. Rev. GEORG

HVEBER. Parochus. Arms: Or, a demi-bear, sa. Crest: A banneret. Motto: Perseverantia Corona.

A grand Architectural Panel. A monk in black habit. The Virgin with a white dog (S. Dominic) and child. F. PETER FABRICIVS. Dei gratia. Abbot of Mon. of B. MARIÆ, MARI STELLÆ. Arms of Monastery. 1613. Arms: quarterly, 1 and 4, Per fess, arg., a double-tailed mermaid, gules, holding out, displayed, her two tails, arg., crowned and crined or, and in chief, gules, a star, or; 2 and 3, Gu., from three mounts, or, a mallet palewise, arg., between two fleur-de-lis, or, and in chief, a star, or. Over all, an inescutcheon: Sa. a double bend, chequy, arg., and gules.

Circular Panel. Imperial Arms with Lion supporters above two shields, displaying gules, on a bend, or, a bear, statant, sa. LOBLICH STATT BRVNN.

Large Architectural Panel. In base, three shields. (1) Arg. a wreath, or; (2) Within a bordure, arg., or, a cock, sable; (3) Arg. Barry of 4, azure. Crest: A demi-lion ramp., plumed, issuant from a coronet, his neck plumed with four arrows. Large side figures of JVSTITIA, PRVDENTIA.

Two Medallions. HANS GABRIEL HANN and ANNA CATHERINA von HEGELBACH. Arms: (1) Or, within a bordure, arg., a cock, sa.; (2) Barry, arg., az.

(3) Circular small Medallion.

St. Martin (?) at an altar, tempted by devils. A vision of hell. Johan Martinus Protonotarius Apostolicus, und parochus in Meyer. Arms: Sa. a Tau cross between three stars, or. Crest: A Cardinal's Hat, sable. 1673.

Panel. BASTIEN WENDLIN. S. Sebastian being shot at a tree. A Knight and Dame. Arms: (1) Az. a stag's head antlered, or; (2) Az. a fox, salient, or.

Panel. Two male figures, OTTO LANG und HANS LANG. Bed Bruder Zu Ottwil. 1577. Arms: (1) Az. a sickle, arg.; (2) Az. a pheon, arg.

Large Panel. Arms: Within a bordure, on party per fess gules, a demi-Hercules clubbed, or, and in base or, lozengy, gules.

Panel. A burgher and lady with a goblet, which she is offering to him. FERG. KELLER and ANNA KVCHLIN. 1610. Two shields: (1) Or, implements, arg.; (2) Gu. a fleur-de-lis, or, and in chief three plates, arg.

Panel. A burgher on horseback. CONRAD HOFFSTETTER and CATHERINA WALLING. 1614. Arms: (1) Az. a fleur-de-lis, vert; (2) Or, a heart pierced by an arrow, arg. Two small representations of (1) An agricultural scene, (2) Merchandise indoors, with six men and women dealing.

South Side (2)

(1) Staircase. Large three-light window representing the Last Judgment. Christ enthroned. S. Michael administering justice. Groups of the Damned and the Beatified. (Restored.) Flemish, but from Rouen. 16th century.

(2) On a Spiral Staircase, S.E. angle of Cloister.

Plaques:—

HANS STEINER and CATHERINA MEYERN. 1631. Arms: Arg. a goat ra., sa.

JACOB WIEDERMANN and SARA STEINERIN. 1631. Arms: Or, a trade-mark, and I. B. sa.

HEINRICH BRAVN (der junger) and ANNA HEGNERIN. 1631. C. K. Arms: (1) Az. a crescent, or; (2) Within a bordure, or, az., an axe-head (?) arg., PAX.

HEINRICH EGLI and ELSPETH STEIN. 1631. Arms: (1) Az. a Luce natant, arg.; (2) Arg. a goat, ra., sa.

Another, nameless. Arms: Gu., in chief, a curry-comb; arg. a cross on a globe, proper, or.

Symbolical figures (small circular plaques):—

OLFACTVS. A lady smelling a lily.

AVDITVS. A lady playing on a guitar; a stag at her feet.

JUSTITIA. A lady seated, with sword, scales, and blindfolded.

TACTVS. A lady with an arm in a sling; a hawk on her other hand; a fish at her feet.

(3) Grand Window. This has been clumsily pieced together, and parts of it are missing. The tints are fine, and the diaper blue ground notable. It consists of two panels and a head-light, in which are seen half-figures of the Patriarchs and other Old Testament characters, with scrolls bearing their names. German. 16th century (early). Cf. Certain figures at Fairford for style.

(4) Over a small doorway, S.E., leading to kitchen, is a window of five lights, having a small heraldic plaque in each.

WINDOW NEAR SOUTH DOOR TO TERRACE.

(1) This window consists of two lights. Proceeding from the head of the left-hand light, and descending, we have the subject of the Adoration represented in a small circular medallion, dated 1670. Below it follow two small scenes, one representing a stag-hunt, and the other "VIOLENTIA," with a man hanging. The two heraldic shields are those of Herr Melchior Boskart des Raths und Seckelmeister (treasurer) der gemeind Baar, und FRAU CATHERINA zum BACH, sein eagmachel (*sic*) [ehe gemahlin]. Anno Domini, 1670. Four commemorative verses follow.

STATT STEIN. A larger panel, displaying the Imperial Arms: Or, double eagle, sa. Above, are S. George and Dragon. Supporters: Two Halberdiers.

Deus et Pax vobiscum. 16–8. Figure of Vigilantia. A small shield: Sa. a leopard, ramp., or crest, a stork, Names and initials: TANER, B., C. SCHNEE, H. C. BEID . . . S. E. M. . WES.

A large Shield, mantled and helmeted. For crest, issuant from a coronet, a leopard coupé langued. Arms: Per bend, gu. and or, a leopard guardant, sa.

Arms: quarterly, 1 and 4, Or, a bear, ra. sa.; 2 and 3, Arg. a pair of pliers, gu. (for Ambranger). For crests, on two coronets: (1) Two proboscids, counterchanged, arg. purp. plumed, az.; (2) A bear ra. sa., clawed. PHILIP ALBRECHT von BERNDORFF. THEVTSCH ORDENS HOFFMEISTER ALTSCHAÜSEN. 1620.

(2) Circular Medallion. Jesus crowned in the House of Pilate. HERR JACOBVS RVCH, Capitann Albie. Anno Domini, 1614.

Panel. Hunting the stag.

JOHANNES BVELLER, Burgher der statt Rapperschwyl, und Frau CATHERINA MADERIN, sein ehegemahl husfrau. 1647. A shield: Arg., az., a goat ram, sa. Crests: Two proboscids, arg. and az. counterchanged, plumed, a goat, ra. sa. Two figures, JVSTITIA and PRVDENTIA.

A large Panel. STATT ZVRICH. A shield gu. displaying a dove, arg., resting on goldsmith's mark, a wheel as Latin cross, left arm longer than right, and its foot crampony to right. Helmet az., or, a dove, arg.

SANT. . . . DINGEN (?) DER BALD. Arms: Per pale, or and az. (Dexter), a Halberd, gu., (Sinister.), three stars, or. Crests: A Halberdier and A DOVE. Figures of Beneficentia, Amor, Patientia.

West Side (1).

(1) A Circular Medallion. St. Peter in the sea with Christ. JOHAN PETER VOGT, priest of St. ANNA PFRUOND. 1634. ZVG.

Panel. A Tournament scene. FERDINAND von GOTE GNADEN, Romischer zu Hungern, &c. 1660. Arms: On an eagle displayed, quarterly, 1 and 4, Barry of 7, gu. and arg.: 2 and 3, Gu., a double-tailed lion ramp. ducally crowned, arg. On an inescutcheon, also quarterly, is a smaller escutcheon of pretence.

An Architectural Panel. JOHAN von ROTHSTEIN. Arms: quarterly, 1 and 4, Gu. a cross, arg.; 2 and 3, Gu. bendy, arg. Diaper ground.

A Circular Medallion. Arms (and motto) of England, quarterly with initials H. & K., on diaper ground, crowned (Henry VIII. and Katharine —).

A Square Panel. A domestic council of burghers. Altschaffen. Figures of Justitia and Misericordia. Arms: Fourteen shields of burghers.

Panel. Six verses above a scene in which an old man is represented naked in bed, surrounded by people. Verses: Durch das Pfylbrechen wolt sein sohn Scilurus (?) Lehrere, &c. 1600. Arms: Or, a horseshoe, az. EIN EHR GEMEIND WACHT ZU. . . .

(2) Central. A small Circular Medallion. Adoration of the Magi (very rich) JOHAN CASPAR UTIGE Alt Prediger, S. Oswald and ANNA ROTIN. 1687.

Panel. Herr ADRIEN ENNER, Hauptmann, in DALMATIEN, and his lady. 1661. Arms, on two shields: (1) Or, three unequal bars, sa.; (2) Gu. a star in chief, or, above a reversed moon, or.

Panel. Jehan Mestral. Schultheiss zu Petterlingen. 1561. Arms: Gu. on a saltire, or, a wheel, arg. Crest: A demi-moon, parti-coloured gules, and or.

Panel. 35 inches by 21. On deep blue diaper ground: St. Martin on foot, richly habited as a noble, dividing his cloak (crimson) with a beggar (argent).

Small Panel. Christoffett Froschower und ELSPETH MÜLLERIN. 1583. Eheliche Hussfrou.

NORTH CLOISTER. CENTRAL WINDOW.

NORTH CLOISTER. CENTRE. CRUCIFIXION.
SS. MARY AND JOHN.

[*German, early 16th Century.*]

Arms: Az. a frog, or. Crest: A frog between two proboscids.

Panel. HANS JACOB GESSLER and HANS CONRAD LOCKER. 1587. Two shields: (1) Or, a goldsmith's mark, (?) sa. (2) quarterly: 1, Arg. an eagle, gu.; 2, Gu. a viper, arg.; 3, Gu. a griffin's head, arg.; 4, Arg. a lion, sa.

(3) A small Circular Medallion. Elizabeth and Mary meeting. Herr DAMIEN MÜLLER, Alt Seckelmeister Der Statt Zug, and ANNA MARIA WIDMER. ZUG. 1671. Arms: (1) Or, a fox (?) ra., arg.; a merchant's mark, or. Crest: A pair of proboscids counterchanged, or and az.

Panel. Wilhelm von BERNHVSEN. 1543. Arms: (1) Barry of six, or and vert.; (2) Gu. two Unicorns' heads addorsed, arg.

Architectural Panel. ALEX KELLER and SEBASTIEN BRUBEL Pardisischer Amptmann zu Schaffhausen. 1593. Two scenes: Adam and Eve, David and Goliath. Arms: (1) Or, a wheel, vert; (2) Az. a key, arg., between two stars, or; (3) Az. a castle, arg. [exceedingly rich in detail].

A Circular Medallion. Arms of England, quarterly, within motto, bearing the label for Edward VI. (?)

Panel. Arms of Die Graffschaft KŸBVRG. 1616.

Panel. Ditto. 1620. Arms: Gu. a bend, or, between two lions ramp. of the same. Crest: A lioness plumed, or. [The Lords of Kyburg were of great estate as far back as the 13th century, and possessed later on lands in Frauenfeld, Winterthur, Wesen, and Beromünster. They were the Howards of Switzerland.]

West Side (1).

(1) A Circular Medallion. Abraham offering Isaac. Herr Wolfgang SCHVMACHER. 1660. Und Frau Bedingerin.

A Panel. Hauptmann PETER KŸSTER. A knight standard-bearer. Arms: Or, a sword, arg. Crest: From a coronet, a demi-lion, holding a shield.

A Panel. Another shield, gu., with two knights for supporters.

A Circular Medallion containing 27 shields disposed as a bordure, enclosing Imperial Arms, with supporters, above two other shields, tinctured per bend, arg. and az.

A Panel. An Abbot of Einsiedlen. 1647. PLACITVS von GOTTES GNADEN, Apfdes Furstlichen Gottshaus, SS. BENEDICT und PLACIDVS. Arms: Or, a tree, vert, with a fox trying to reach its fruit. Crest: A mitre displaying in Vesica I.H.S.

Panel. Die LOBLICHE STATT ZŸG. St. MICHAEL and St. HENRY, as Supporters to Imperial Arms, above a shield, displaying, arg. a fess, az.

(2) Centre. A Circular Medallion. St. Martin on horseback, river scene with a castle. Die GEMEIND (guild) BAAR. 1680. OSWALD OTTIGE. Arms: Az. a fess, arg.

Panel. HEINRICH AN. DER-EGG und MARGARETA AM BŸÖLL. 1619. Arms: (1) Az. a fish, arg.; (2) Or, a flower, arg.

Panel. DIETHÄLM STAHEL im DARBETHAL, und ELSPETHA BRŸNER. A shooting-scene. 1610.

A Large Panel. 34 inches by 22. A lake-scene, displaying a monastery with boats, and birds flying. A sainted abbot (St. Gall) with nimbus and mitre, and St. Benedict. Ruby tunics. Imperial arms.

Panel. Musketeers. JOHAN WAZER, Burgher. Der statt ZURICH. 1639. Arms: Az. two paddles crossed, between four stars, or.

Panel. David. Bathsheba bathing. Rudolf

Schmied, der zun Lands Seckelmeister (treasurer). Zu GLARUS. 1600. XM. Arms: Az. a pall, arg., between three stars, or.

(3) Circular Medallion. St. Martin, on horseback. The Virgin and children. Die Lobliche Gemeind Baar. 1661. (?) Arms: Arg. a fess, az.

Panel. Agricultural scene. Two Halberdiers as Supporters. ANTONIVS MERACH und ELSBETHA. HOLDERMEIER. Zu Münster. 1608. Arms: (1) Or, a ram, ra. sa. (B.C.); (2) Gu. a crosier-top, arg.

A Circular Medallion of 27 shields of towns, as a bordure inclosing the Imperial Arms and Supporters, above two shields, arg. and az. 1542. Diaper ground of silvery white.

Panel. Der Statt LUZERN. Imperial Arms above a shield, having per pale, az. and arg. Supporters: SS. Leodegar and Maurice.

Panel. Die STATT SCHAFFHAVSEN. 1609. Soldiers driving cattle. Imperial Arms, above a shield displaying: Or, a crowned goat, ramp. sa., with SS. Barbara and Alexander.

WEST SIDE (2).

(1) A Circular Medallion. The Marriage at Cana.

Panels. Two small battle-scenes. Die Statt WINTERTHVR. 1620. C.K. Arms: Arg. a bull, gu. Supporters: Two skin-clad savages, girdled with vine leaves.

Another, with similar scene. Arms: Or, a fess, gu., between three Imperial eagles, displayed, sa. 1596. Herr Balthasar Im Thurn, und CLEOPHE.

A Circular Medallion, having thirty shields of towns as a bordure inclosing the Imperial Arms. 1573.

Panel. Das Land Appenzell. St. Maurice and the Virgin. 1609. Arms: Arg. a bear statant, sa.,

under the Imperial Arms. Inscribed with six verses.

Panel. Die Statt Basel. The Virgin and St. Henry with a church. 1609. Six verses relative to shooting. Two shooting scenes. Arms: Arg. a crosier-head, sa.

(2) Centre. An angel announces to Manoah the birth of Samson. HEINRICH ZURLOUB. Landvogt der Graffschaft BADEN. 1670. Shield, quarterly . . .

Panel. A knight, and a lady offering him a goblet. FRANZ KALLEDIN. 1574. Arms: Or, a pair of horns, and in chief a cross, sa.

Panel. HANS HOFFMAN . . . PAGI. 1581. Arms: (1) Arg. a mallet; (2) Or, per pale raguly, two stars, sa.

Large Panel. 36 inches by 22. St. James with closed book, scallop, and staff, and St. Anthony with a boar belled, a book, a bell, and a staff, on rich diaper blue ground. (German.) 1521.

Panel. Two figures of HEINRICH CAGEL and ANNA VOGEL.

Panel. WOLFGANG OTTIGER and ANNA CASTIN. 1596. Arms: Within a bordure, vert, az., a fish, arg., and a cross, or. Two smaller scenes: Ordnance and a castle.

(3) A Circular Medallion. LOT and SODOM. Herr JOHANN GEORG SIGNER, Doctor. STATT ZVG. 1679.

An elaborate Panel. A town beside a lake. A tourney. The Imperial Arms. 1590. Above two shields: Arg. a fess, azure.

Panel. A town. Arquebusiers. The Imperial Arms over two shields: Or, a bull's head ringed, sable. 1590.

Panel. Within 19 shields of towns, 1564, the Imperial Arms above two shields, per fess, gules and argent.

Panel. A lake-scene. Soldiers. Die Statt Zvrich. 1609. SSS. FELIX, REGULA, EXEBRANSIVS (for Exsuperantius). Arms: Per bend, arg. and az. under the Imperial Arms.

Panel. A historic battle, dated 1315 (Morgarten ?). Below: DAS LAND SCHWEIZ, with St. Roch and St. Martin. Six verses. Imperial Arms above a shield, gules.

West Side (4).

(1) A Circular Medallion. St. Philip baptising the Eunuch. Die LOBLICHE STATT ZVG. 1670. Imperial Arms over two shields for Zug: tranché, or and sa.

Panel. A knight bearing some antlers to a lady. Arms: Sa. a pair of antlers, or.

Panel. Between a knight with shield, gu., and a monk, aureoled and crosiered, or and arg., the Imperial Arms.

A Circular Medallion. Motto and Arms of England quarterly, with a label for Edward VI. [From Sudeley and Hayles Abbey.]

A Panel. A knight and lady in a landscape. Shield, gu.

A Panel. Two figures, Hans IWENHVSER von STAN und MADLENA WILHELMIN von VOSTRY. 1559. Arms: (1) Gu. palewise, a barb, arg.; (2) Sa. a goldsmith's mark, or. Scene: Some little boys stirring up a beehive.

(2) Centre. Scene: St. Peter kneeling while he receives the keys. The Confraternity of St. Sebastian. JOHAN PETER VOGT, Treasurer, 1687. Arms: A Tau cross between two — sa. Crest: A crow holding a Tau in his beak.

A Panel. The Imperial Arms above those of Die STATT ZVRICH. 1620.

A large Panel. 34 inches by 22. An angel crowned, bearing a staff in left hand and a mitre in right.

Arms: Two shields: (1) Sa. a pyramidal cross, or; (2) Gu. a fess, embattled, arg.

Panel. Herr Sebastian Heinrich GRUOBER and MARGARETA GVRBER, Organist, with St. Cecilia and St. Catherine [very beautiful specimen. Cf. Illustration]. Arms: (1) Az. a lion ramp., or, a sword, arg.; (2) Az. three flowers slipped, arg., vert.

Panel. The murder of Wolfenschiess, the Seneschal. Four verses. Herr Ulrich LOCKMAN, Hauptmann in Dalmatia. 1654. Arms: (1) Or, an antler, sa; (2) Or, a trade-mark, sa.

(3) Fine small Circular Medallion. Simeon struck dumb. (?) Johann Caspar BRANDEN und ANNA MARIA FREŸ. 1682. Arms, on two shields: (1) Or, a stump, raguly, sa.; (2) Az. lion ramp, or.

Panel. A tourney. A lady in green dress. Arms: Gu. two trees between four stars, or and arg.

Panel. A Hunting-scene. Circular shield, gu., with initials I.B., or.

A Circular Medallion. Arms of England, quarterly. Initials H. and K. crowned [Henry VIII and Katharine (Parr) ?. From Sudeley and Hayles Abbey.

Panel. Die statt STEINN. St. George. A battle. Imperial Arms and Supporters. 1541, above two shields per pale, gules and purpure, above St. George and Dragon.

Panel. St. Sylvester exorcising the Dragon. (?) Imperial Arms and Supporters, two halberdiers, 1590, above two shields, bearing gu., a double key, arg., or.

EAST SIDE (1)

(1) A Circular Medallion. Vision of the Saviour ascending. A River-scene. (Brilliant enamels) ST. MARTIN. Herr MARTIN HVNDIG, der zitt KIRCHEN. VOGT zu ARTH.

Panel. St. Michael, weighing the Soul (as a child) with the devil. MICHEL BALDI. 1608. Zu GLARUS. Arms: Within a bordure, arg., gu., a mallet, arg.

Panel. Decan von BOSTRETT. Zu BERN. 1658. Arms: Or, a lozenge, arg. Crest: A swan, issuant from a Ducal coronet.

A Circular Medallion. Imperial Arms and Supporters within bordure of 31 shields of towns. Im. JAR. 1611.

Panel. Wilhelm von Fulach. Burgher zu SCHAFFHAUSEN. 1556. Arms: Party per pale, az., a crescent arg., or, a lion ra., gu.

Panel. ADAM von STRALBACH und . . . von WIELSBERG. 1576. Arms: (1) Az. a bend or, three annulets, arg.; (2) Party per fess, arg., chequy, arg., gu.

(2) A Circular Medallion. St. Martin on horseback. 1684. Das LOBLICH LANDTT SCWYTZ. Arms: Imperial, above shields, gu., for Schwytz.

Panel. RUDOLF EBERLY zu LOREN. 1590. Arms: quarterly, 1, Arg., on a chief a star, or; 2, do., and a Tau cross proper, between two fleur-de-lis, or; 3, do.; 4, Arg. a demi-man crowned and coated, gu., holding two fishes by their tails, arg. Over all an inescutcheon, displaying a bend, chequy, arg., gu., between two Supporters, the Virgin and child, and St. Dominic. Crest: A mitre.

Panel. Herr NEVWHER. Oberst. 1620. Zunftmeister. Arms: quarterly, 1, Per bend sinister, arg. and gu.; 2, Or, a goldsmith's mark, sa.; 3, Per bend sinister, arg., an arrow, or, az., and gu.; 4, . . .

A large Panel, 36 inches by 22, inscribed COLLEGII LUZERNS. 1532. A kneeling figure of a Rector (?) tonsured, wearing grey fur hood, crimson tunic, relieved on rich blue-diaper ground. A book lies closed upon the ground at his knees.

Arms: Or, three lions statant guardant, sa., crowned, or.

Panel. J. W. WOLFF und frau ANNA PESTER. 1673. JOHAN HEINRICH WASET und BARBARA KELLER. Arms: quarterly, 1 and 4, Or, a lion guardant, holding a key, arg., with, sinister, another key, palewise; 2, Barry, or, a fish, arg.

Panel. HANS JACOB TRVEB und frau SUSANNA BLVNTSCHLI. 1695. ZURICH. Arms: (1) Or, in chief, an implement, az., on a fess, two pheons or, and in base, a dove, arg.; (2) Party per pale, or, sa., two hounds ra., addorsed and collared, or.

(3) A Circular Medallion. Jesus casting out the Moneyers. H. OSWALD BLVNCHER und ANNA LANDTWIN. 1675. Arms: (1) Az. a trade-mark, arg., or; (2) do.

Panel. JOHANN ULRICH WOLFF und frau SUSANNE BEVERIN, und ELSPETH STVCK. 1607. Arms: (1) . . . (2) . . . (3) . . .

Panel. HEINRICH TOMAN und ANNA LEWERIN. ZURICH. 1506. Arms: (1) Az. a tree, vert.; (2) Or, a trade-mark Z between two fleur-de-lis, az.

A Circular Medallion. Imperial Arms and Supporters, within bordure of 18 shields of towns, including Sempach, Rottenberg, and Münster.

Panel. Mathias LINDINER. 1606. Arms: Arg. a tree, vert., and a unicorn, or.

Panel. HANS PETTER KISCHPERGER und URSULA SWICK. 1605. Arms: (1) Gu. a goat, ra., holding an implement, or, between three stars, arg.; (2) Az. a crescent moon above a star, or.

Man das Gluck dich soll bestralen
Sauren Schweiss muost nit ersparen,
Die Müch und prüts der Engel zeigt
Hier zur Pron, den in Himmell leit.

EAST CLOISTER. WINDOW 3.

JOHANS WIRK, 1520.

EAST CLOISTER. WINDOW 3.

PETER UND HANS SCHUOLER (GEBRIEDER), 1631.

Above is represented a scene, with Curriers at work.

EAST SIDE (2).

(1) A Circular Medallion. IN CRUCE VICTORIA. In a landscape, St. OSWALD kneels among his soldiers adoring the cross. OSWALD COLIN der medicin, Statt Doctor, zu Zug, und frau ANNA MARIA CATHERINA WISIGIN, sein gemahlin. 1687. Sit par Fortuna labori. Arms: (1) Az. two barbs crossed between two bees, and (in chief) a fleur-de-lis, or; (2) A chief, or, with an armless torso of a man, sa., and in base, sa., lozengy, arg. Crest: A demi-man, hatted, holding two barbs.

Two Panels. ULRICH SPETT und JOHANNAS GOLDLIUS, MDLXX. F. TIGVRINUS. 1530. Arms: (1) Gu. three saws, arg.; (2) Per fess, in chief, arg., two cinquefoils, gu., centred, or, a fleur-de-lis reversed, arg.

A Circular Medallion. Arms and motto of England, quarterly, with label of Edward VI.

Panel. Jeronimus BÜSLER. Eight verses. 1605. Scene: A reconciliation. Arms: Or, a sword, arg.

Panel. A trophy of flags. Scene: A monarch taking leave of an Assembly which is agitated. OBERSTER SEBASTIAN REVO RITTER. Arms: Or, a lion ramp., sa., holding battleaxe, arg.

(2) Centre. A Circular Medallion. Landscape: Town by the lake. St. Peter in the ship, awakening Christ. 1684. Herr PETRUS Meyenburg, und frau Elisabeth ZUR TAUBEN, gmahell. STATT ZVG. Arms: quarterly 1 and 4, Az., three roses, gules; 2, Or, a castle, sa.; 3, . . .

Panel. St. Martin as Bishop, and a knight bearing a standard. Imperial Arms and Supporters over two shields, bearing: Or, a bull's head, sa., enringed and horned, arg.

Panel. Figures of St. Heinrich and St. Barbara. Scene: The Prodigal Son's return. H. HEINRICH FUCHS. Figures of Wisdom and Steadfastness. 1609. H.H. Arms: (1) Or, a fox, ramp., arg.; (2) Az., a curry-comb surmounted by a trade-mark, vert., between initials B.R.

Panel. 36 by 22 inches. Rich diaper-blue ground. A Bishop enthroned, with crosier and staff. Arms: Az. three fleur-de-lis, or.

Panel. LASSERVS VLASSER. A knight, and a dame with a goblet, which she offers to him. ELIZ GEM. L.G. 1604. Arms: Or, a goblet, vert., between initials L.G.

Panel. JOHANN SCHROTTER. STATT FRIBOVRG. Supporters, armed. Arms: Or, a stag-beetle, sa. Crest: A stag-beetle. 1649.

(3) A Circular Medallion. The Raising of Lazarus. 1688.

Panel. WALTHER IM HOFF. Shooting-scene. Arms: (1) Or, a four-bladed wheel, sa.; (2) quarterly, 1 and 4, Az. a lion ramp. holding a wheel, or; 2 and 3, In chief, gu. a wheel, or, a fess, arg., and in base —.?

Panel. JACOB MEYENBERG. 1582. Schultheiss zu MILUNGEN. The Judgment of Solomon. Figures of Justice and Faith, Hope, and Charity. Arms: Per pale, or and az., an antler, gu., between two withies vert.

A Circular Medallion. England, quarterly, with motto. Label for Edward VI. (?)

Panel. Wolfenschiess, the Seneschal, being slain. Descriptive verses. SEBASTIAN STEUSER. 1605. Arms: Or, two triangles braced, arg.

Panel. Martin Botshert zu SCHWITZ. 1626. Arms: Per fess, gu., a trade-mark, or, in base chequy, or and purp.

EAST SIDE (3).

(1) A Circular Medallion. The Star and the Magi. H. LYDENAMBT. MEINRAD. 1668. ZVG. Arms: Az. two crossed swords, between three fleur-de-lis, arg.

Panel. A knight and dame. NICHOLAS NORHARTT. Statt ARBVRG. 1583. Arms: quarterly, 1 and 4, Az. a Moor's head, sa., filleted, arg.; 2 and 3; quarterly, 1 and 4, Or, a Moor's head, sa.; 2 and 3, Sa., a sun, or.

Panel. Scene: Ploughing. A knight and dame. JOSEPH GUTTER und URSEL ONINGERIN. 1651. Arms: (1) Az. in base, a spearhead, arg.; (2) Az. two flowers, arg., vert.

A Circular Medallion. Arms of England quarterly, and motto. Label for Edward VI.

Panel. Das land APPENZELL. The Imperial Arms, above two shields, bearing: Arg. a bear, rampant, unguéd and languéd, sa., between initials V. and R. Supporters: Two knights. 1644.

Panel. An agricultural scene. A knight, and a dame bearing a goblet. 1588. Arms: Arg. an ox-shoe, az.

(2) Centre. Circular Medallion inclosing two shields. H. JOHANN. v. BEAT. FVRK. F. MARIA. VERENA. 1594.

Panel. (Cf. South Window, No. 3.) Shield with Arms of a monastery. St. Maria. MARISTELLÆ. Divina Clementia. T. 1600. Angels for supporters. Arms, per pale: (1) [Dexter] gu. a star, or; (2) Arg., a crowned demi-man, gu., holding two fishes, sa.; (3) az., within a bordure, or, a TAU-cross, arg. (1) [Sinister] gu., a mallet, arg., between two fleur-de-lis, or, and in chief, a star, or; (2) Gu. a star, or;

(3) Arg. a crowned demi-man, gu., holding two fishes, sa.

Panel (damaged). Jacob von Fulach. 16— und — Arms: (1) Party per pale, dexter, az., a crescent (?) arg.; sinister, or, a lion ramp., gu.; (2) Party per fess, a chief, sa., base or, a leopard proper counterchanged.

Large Panel. 36 inches by 22. In a lake landscape, a mitred, nimbus'd Abbot, having a book, an awl, and a staff. Arms: Or, three leopards guardant, sa. Virgin and child, on his mitre.

Panel. Three men shaking hands. Inscription: PAX BENIGNITAS. CARITAS. CONCORDIA. CONRAD MÜLLER. CONRAD BILLING. 1668. Several verses. Arms: Az. three sickles, arg.

Panel. Some figures. Three shields. Arms: (1) Within a bordure, or, gu., a demi-Hercules of the first; LOZENGY, or and gu.; (2) Or, two stars of the first, a trefoil of the last, sa.; (3) Or, a goat ramp., sa.

(3) A Circular Medallion. Vision of St. Francis. The Virgin. St. Francis receives the Christkind in his arms. Herr JOHANN FRANCISCUS GÜTER. Quid FRANCISCE petis me? Do natum simul et me.

Panel. LORENZ ASCHEREN WYLER. A knight and dame. 1578. BISCHOFS ZELL. Party per fess, gu. and or, an anchor, az.

Panel. Knight and dame. HANS BER und CATHERINA MERGEN. 1612. Arms: (1) Or, a bear, ramp., sa.; (2) Arg. a flower, or.

A Circular Medallion. Motto, and Arms of England, quarterly. Label for Edward VI.

Panel. Curriers at their work. Knight and dame. Peter and Hans Schuoller (Gebrieder). 1631. Figures with matchlocks. Arms: Or, in chief, a curry-comb, arg., over a trade-mark, sa.

Panel. Two battle-scenes. Two knights. Arms: Per pale, or and gu.; dexter, leaves vert.; sinister, a tree-stump, or.

EAST SIDE (4).

(1) Small Circular Medallion. Virgin and child appearing to St. Francis. Casper Züllin and Anna Fischerin. Exquisite landscape with river and town of Zug.

Panel. St. Justina of Antioch and the unicorn. An agricultural scene. St. OSWALD. (?) Arms: Gu. a fleur-de-lis, arg., between two stars, or. A raven for Crest.

A large Circular Medallion. Imperial Arms: Over two shields, having per pale, arg. and az., dated 1548. Arms of 21 towns.

A Panel. The Magi adoring the Infant Christ. A lake-scene. Two shields, illegible. Die forcht Gottes ist der Wysshen Anfang. The Annunciation.

A Panel. Christ and the doctors. Arms: Three shields: (1) Gu. a fess, arg.; (2) Az. five eagles displayed, or; (3) Arg. a cross, gu. Two Cupid Supporters.

(2) A Circular Medallion. Herr Wendel AEGLIN. 1678. St. Raphael, the archangel, chases Asmodeus in Egypt. Cf. Tobias III., 17.

A Panel. ULRICH WIRTZ and CATHERINA SCHWARTZING. 1648. Arms: (1) Az., in chief, two stars, or, above a pheon, arg.; (2) Purp., two trees, vert, and in chief, a star, or. "Stark ist Wein," etc., ESDRAS, 3. 3. 1648.

A Panel. JOHANN CHRISTOF von Gottes gnaden. 1549. Arms: Three shields; (1) Or, a goat, ramp., gu.; (2) Gu. a fess embattled, arg.; (3) Or, an eagle (?) displayed, sa.

A Panel. JOHAN CHRISTOF von Gruth. An

Abbot's mitre and crosier held by two angels. 1549. Beheadal of St. John the Baptist.

Panel. Two figures. 1577. Arms: Gu., figure of a Saint walking, arg., GLARUS.

Panel. Landscape with castle, and a lake in the background. St. OSWALD, in full armour, carrying a grand standard, arg., with a cross, gu.; a shield, gu., with a cross, arg. Above, a miniature shewing the martyrdom of the Saint, with four others awaiting their doom.

Panel. John the Baptist beheaded. Susanna. Three Councillors debating. Four shields with trade-marks, or and sa.

Panel. Isaac and Jacob. MARIA SNACKER von Bulack and sister. 1627. Two shields: (1) Az. a sun, or; (2) Az. an antler, displayed, or.

(3) A Circular Medallion. St. Martin and the beggar. 1669. Das Loblich Gemeind Baar. Arms: Arg. a fess, az. Coronetted.

Panel. Samson asleep, Judith and Holofernes. Inscribed: Anthony, priest of Russwill. 1566. St. Anthony and St. George. Arms: Gu. a fess, or, banded, vert.

A Circular Medallion, displaying the Imperial Arms and Supporters within 21 shields of towns; dated 1548.

Panel. Side figures of Misericordia, Charitas. With badge of a Stag, gu. Inscribed: Johans WIRKEN der alter Schaffer (warden) zu Radischwyl Anno, 1520. Erneüweret durch Hans Conradten Wirken und Schützen Friedrich und des Raths Vielhausen Wirken. Landtrichtsherren der Graff-schaft Kÿbergzum Marzen. Hans Heinrichen und Hans Rudolf die Wirken gebrieder. Auch Hans Jacobus Wirken alt-burgherer der Statt ZURICH. 1620. Crest, An Antlered demi-stag, issuant.

Panel. A hunting-scene. Joachim. Christoff von Vorsperg and lady. 1600. Arms (?). Crest: Peacock feathers and plume.

VOCABULARY.

Cimier = Crest = Helschmuck. Cimiero.

Devise = Motto = Wahlspruch.

Bordure = Schildrand. BORDURA.

ÉN CHEF = a Chief = Schildhaupt. CAPO. CAPRIOLO.

CHEVRON = Sparren.

BANDE = BEND = SCHRÄGBALKEN. BANDA.

A Pall = pallium = Pfahl.

Lambrequins = Bandelettes, pieces of stuff for ornament = Helmtuch. Lambrechini.

ARMS = Armes: Wappen.

Supporter = Tenant = Schildhalter = Sostegno.

Metaux = Tinctures = Farbe.

Sautoir = Schräg-Kreuz (Kreuzweize = en Sautoir) Saltire; Andreas Kreuz.

Mitre = Mitre = INFVL.

Aigle de l'Empire.

Eployée de sable. Chaque tête diadémée d'or.

Aigle D'Autriche.

Eployée de sable, becquée et membrée d'or. Surmontée d'une couronne Imperiale et tenant de sa griffe dextre une épé et un sceptre et de sa sinestre un monde. Elle porte sur son estomac un écusson aux armes de la maison Impériale.

Taf. Tau. St. Philip = cross pâttée. Béquille de St. Antoine.

Bourdon = Pilgrim's staff Slutze. Stab.

Fasce, en = in fess. Barre: balken, or schrägbalken; bär, stränge. (Ital.) Fascia.

Proboscides = ornées de long du dos d'une crête des angles sommés de plumes.

Fr. q., franc-quartier = Canton. Frei-viertel.

Vairy, vaire, Eisenhütschnitt. Rech und bunt.

Chequy = Échiqueté. Geschacht.
Coupé: geteilt.
Quarterly = écartelé. Gevierteilt.
Tranché = gespatten, gehalbieret. Diagonally divided, right to left.
Pale, de pal. Pfahl. Palo.

TITLES.

HAUPTMANN = Captain.
LANDVOGT = Governor of a Canton.
SECKELMANN or SECKELMEISTER = Treasurer.
AMT-MANN = Guildmaster.
PROBST = Provost.
OBERSTER = Colonel or lieutenant.

THE MANOR AND CHURCH OF GREAT CHALFIELD.

By Rev. J. SILVESTER DAVIES, M.A., F.S.A., F.R.Hist.S.

I.

1.—Thomas Tropenell, the builder, or rather re-builder, of the Manor-house, caused a chartulary of his property to be drawn up in 1464 and following years, which will be largely used in the present memoir. The book, which had been lost sight of for many years (*see* Hoare's *Wilts*, vol. v., pt. 2, p. 116; Jackson's *Aubrey*, pp. 2, 20, 82, &c.; and Walker's *Great Chalfield*, p. 25), passed into the hands of the present writer some few years ago from a representative of former possessors of the Monks and Bowden Park Estates; and it may be of interest to give at once a general description of this long-missing chartulary. In size and appearance it is a strongly-bound volume, with brass clasps; the binding, in ledger style, dating apparently from the seventeenth century. It measures 14 by 11 inches and 4½ inches thick, and contains 978 parchment pages besides fly-leaves, on the first of which is a list of the manors or properties dealt with. Just inside the cover, on the *verso* of the coloured leaf, occurs the name, which has been erased with a knife, but which is just distinguishable when it is otherwise known, of "E. Dickinson, Esq., Monks, Wilts." There appears to have been no date attached to the name. At the end of the book is a long note unsigned, but probably by one of the Danvers family, and bearing date 1695, stating that "Mr. Tropenell had issue one sonne and two daughters: the sonne being att mans estate dyed by an unfortunate accident, as hunting putting one end of a paire of Dogg Couples over his Head

running after his sport, and leaping over a hedge, the end of ye Dogg Couple which hung at his back tooke hold of a boughe, kept him from touching ye ground untill hee was strangled. His sisters co-Heirs, the eldest married Mr. John Eyre, the other Mr. Young." The note then gives the lineage of the elder daughter (the Eyre family), and ends with the reflection, "Quale foliorum genus tale et virorum:"

"As leafs from trees Mankind doe drop away,
So sonns of Mortals flourish and decaye.—1695."

The chartulary, which is rubricated throughout, commences thus in rubric:—"In this Regester begonne to be writte on Alsowlyn day in the iiij^th^ yere of Kyng Edward the iiij^th^ [November 2nd, 1464] bethe conteyned all dedes and evidences concernyng all the maners, londes, and tenementes belongyng to Thomas Tropenell, Esquyer, and to his heires, and to his ffeoffees to her vse remaynyng in the seid Thomas Tropenelle's warde at the writyng hereof."

The documents concerning each manor or property are given in order. Thus those concerning Neston, Corsham, Corshamland, commence with a deed of Richard, Earl of Cornwall, tested but not dated, followed by a confirmation of 6 Ed. III. (1332); on page 44 is a note, by the writer of the note above quoted, and dated in the same year (1695), concerning the failure of Mr. Tropenell's male issue (but see below) and the succession to the Monks estate. The note ends with the similar reflection:

"Fatis agimur;
Quidquid patimur, mortale genus,
Quidquid facimus venit ex alto.
What mortals build time dos in rubbish lay,
As ffates decree the destinies obey."

Pages 45—50 give the customs of the lordship of Corsham "fro the tyme that no mynde rennethe." Following this are documents concerning Laverstock, Alington, Chippenham, Burton co. Glouc., Atworth, Cottles, Stratford, and Pitcherton. From p. 245 to p. 262 an account is given,

apparently from the episcopal annals of Bishop Poore,[1] concerning the foundation of the city and cathedral of Salisbury (Quomodo civitas Nove Sarum in principio incepit, et Ecclesia Cathedralis ibidem fundata fuit, et de compositionibus inter Episcopum et Majorem et cives civitatis predicte factis). This is followed by an account of property in New Sarum, Chalfield, Great Chalfield, with its owners from Sir Harry Percy to the then present possession of Thomas Tropenell, with their coats of arms emblazoned; next a chartulary of Great Chalfield, including notes on the constableship of Trowbridge Castle. Next come documents concerning lands at Hindon, Knolle, Milton, Chicklade, East and West Codford, Maiden Bradley, the advowson of Great Cheverell, Hazelbury, Castle Combe and Langdene, Harsrigge (Hassage), Littleton, and Wellow. Next a pedigree of the Tropenell family; after which documents about Whaddon-by-Ivychurch, Sopworth, Sherston, Kington, East Harnham, Kilmersdon, Walton, Broughton Gifford, Durnford. Lastly comes the note of the possessor of 1695, first quoted, relating to the death of the heir-male and the succession of his two sisters. Concerning this family tradition, it may be well to point out at once that the writer of the notes gives no Christian name to the Mr. Tropenell, or to the son who is said to have met with the fatal

[1] Richard le Poore, bp. 1217—1229. The register is not now existing. For account of the foundation of the cathedral given above (MS., pp. 245, 246) see *Sarum Charters* (Chron. and Memorial series, No. 97), 1891, p 266. The remaining very interesting documents (pp. 247—262), which, among other things, contain the early customs and ordinances of the city, with concession of guild merchant, are also preserved in the first eleven leaves of a parchment folio among the cathedral muniments, and form the first part of those documents which Bp. Richard Beauchamp (1450–1482) had copied in support of his case before Henry VI. and Edward IV., in a long controversy with the Mayor and Corporation on the rights of the See and City respectively. At the foot of the eleventh leaf of the cathedral folio is a memorandum referring to the Tropenell chartulary, and stating that all that had been written up to that point was also "regestryd in an auncyent booke of parchment which sumtyme was Mr. Trapnell's boke and now ys Mr. John Eyers of Chalfeld, wherin ys regestryd also all Mr. Trapnell's lands wherof the greatest parte ys dyscendyd to the saide Mr. Eyers' wyfe as one of the coparceners and coheiers of the sayde Mr. Trapnell: which booke was sene by me John Hooper and hyt agreyth with thys boke." I have to thank A. R. Malden, Esq., of the Close, Salisbury, for this interesting information.

accident, or to the two daughters who succeeded. It may be that he supposed the occurrence to have concerned the author of the chartulary and his children. It will be seen in the sequel that this is impossible, but that there may perhaps be room for the tragic mishap to have occurred to the great-grandson of the builder of the Manor-house, and that the succession did then pass to his sisters (*see* on p. 231).

2.—An account of the *History and Antiquities of the Manor House and Church of Great Chalfield*, by Mr. Thomas Larkins Walker, architect, appeared in 1837, and a second edition in 1840. The author was just in time to put on record and to preserve, in numerous beautiful engravings by Le Keux, a memento of what then existed. He had the advantage of having been employed by the proprietor, Sir Harry Barrard Neale, Bart., to carry out certain repairs necessary to preserve the building, and he made good use of his opportunities, for which we who come after, and have lost very much of what then remained, must be grateful. Mr. Walker's work occupies about fourteen quarto pages, in which are incorporated certain fragments of the Tropenell chartulary relating to the family pedigree which had been more or less accurately copied into a MS. then in the possession of William Waldron, Esq., of Lipiat, to which Mr. Walker apparently had access. But serious errors have been admitted into the historical description, some possibly unavoidable at the time, and an interpolation has been made in the Tropenell pedigree on pure conjecture of what *must* have been—a process somewhat dangerous and very awkward when it comes to be seen what really *was*. But the extremely valuable part of Mr. Walker's work is his accurate architectural drawings of every portion, and it may be almost said of every detail, of the buildings as they existed in 1835 or 1836. These are represented in twenty-eight plates, accompanied by about eleven pages of explanatory notes. In the preface to his second edition Mr. Walker laments that the owner's good intentions as to the entire preservation of the original buildings were broken through. The roof and two

of the exterior walls of the guest chamber were found to be unsafe and were taken down, and the making good of the original design was abandoned. Next, at the suggestion of the tenant the banqueting hall was cut into two heights, so as to provide bedrooms above and kitchens below. Thus the interior of the hall was totally destroyed, the screen removed, and the frontage disfigured by modern insertions under the original windows of the hall, which have been cut short at the transoms (*see* also *Gent. Mag.* for March, 1838). We are thankful, then, for these admirable drawings, which will be duly used in this paper.

II.

Great Chalfield—perhaps the "ceald" or cold field—is a parish of about 706 acres in the hundred of Bradford, county of Wilts, and diocese of Salisbury, containing some three score inhabitants; and its church, within the moat of the manor-house, is a small structure originally of the latter part of the 13th century, or very probably earlier. It is about 3½ miles from Melksham and the same from Bradford. Little Chalfield, which comprises about 512 acres, is joined ecclesiastically with Great Chalfield; but for parochial purposes the ancient parish, together with Little Chalfield and Cottles, are placed now under Atworth.[1] There was formerly a church at Little Chalfield dedicated to St. John the Baptist,[2] founded by the ancestors of Margaret, lady of Little Chalfield, who was probably daughter to Walter de Chalfield (*see* below among patrons and rectors), and who married George de Pershay, of whom hereafter. The existence of

[1] I have to thank Mr. T. Pullen, of Lenton Farm, churchwarden of Great Chalfield, for his extreme kindness and personal assistance while examining the house and premises, also for affording much local information. Mr. Pullen was an intimate friend of the late Rector, Rev. Edward Kingston, and fully shared with him the interest he took in the church under his official care and in the adjacent manor-house. My acknowledgments are also due to Mr. and Mrs. Bailey for permission to examine the interior of the manor-house, of which they are tenants.

[2] I am indebted for this dedication to Mr. A. Story-Maskelyne, of the P.R.O., from Inquis. p.m. 22, E. iii. (1348).

this church is traceable at least from the opening of the 14th century, but it disappears soon after the middle of the 16th (*see* list of rectors below). Its site is not known, though there having been glebe in a certain spot may perhaps be inferred from the name still existing of "parson's" field; and the same is the case with Great Chalfield (*see* more below, sec. III., p. 247), where, indeed, a lively fancy might almost imagine some faint traces of foundations of the parsonage-house to exist. The buildings of Great Chalfield manor will be dealt with in the third section of this paper.

From *Domesday* we learn that in the time of King Edward the manor was held by Wallef, possibly to be identified[1] with the unfortunate Earl Waltheof, the son of Siward, cruelly betrayed by his wife,[2] and finally executed on a charge of concealment of treason in 1076; but at the time of the Survey in 1086 Ernulf de Hesding, one of the large *Domesday* owners, was in possession. The following is Canon Jones's extension of the text:—

"Ipse Ernulfus tenet Caldefelle. Wallefus tenuit tempore regis Edwardi, et geldabat pro 2 hidis et dimidio. Terra est 2 carrucatæ. De eâ est in dominio 1 hida et dimidium, et ibi 1 carracata, cum 1 servo, et 4 bordariis. Ibi dimidium molini reddens 18 denarios, et 6 acræ prati, et 6 acræ silvæ, et 8 acræ pasturæ. Valuit 4 libras: modo 50 solidos.

"Ipse Ernulfus tenet in eâdem villâ tantundem terræ pro uno manerio. Godwinus tenuit tempore regis Edwardi. Ibi tantundem habet quantum in superiori continetur, et tantundem appreciatur."

"Ernulf himself holds Caldefelle. Wallef held it in the time of King Edward, and it was assessed at 2 hides and a half. The land is two ploughlands. Of this there is one hide and a half in demesne, and there is one ploughland with one serf, and four bordars. There is half a mill[3]

[1] Birch, *Domesday Book*, p. 120. [2] *See* Dugdale, Bar. i., 55, 56.

[3] A mill had often more than one owner, and sometimes was divided into several shares (*see* Morgan's *England under the Normans*, p. 99; Jones, *Domesday for Wilts*, p. xliv.).

paying 18 pence, and six acres of meadow, and six acres of wood, and eight acres of pasture. It was worth four pounds, but now fifty shillings.

Ernulf himself holds in the same vill the same quantity of land for one manor. Godwin held it in the time of King Edward. He has there as much as is contained in the above manor, and it is valued at the same."

This latter account is probably that for Little or West Chalfield, and may include the tax for the other half of the mill spoken of above.

Ernulf de Hesding, the *Domesday* possessor of Great Chalfield, was the first Earl of Perch, and father to Rotrock, the second Earl, who married Matilda, a natural daughter of King Henry I. He is said to have been a man of great bodily stature, brave and active; he was, moreover, a benefactor to the Abbey of Gloucester.[1] Charged unjustly with conspiracy against William Rufus, he is said to have defended himself successfully in wager of battle by his champion against the King's man, but to have thrown up his lands in disgust at the royal suspicion, and to have joined the crusades in the Holy Land, where he died of disease.[2] His death thus occurred after, and perhaps not long after, 1095.

We next find the manor in the hands of the Percies, and have the Tropenell chartulary for our guide. This family,[3] as we judge from their arms (*see* below), was a younger branch of that of William de Percy, who came into England in the time of the Conqueror and died in the Holy Land in 1096; and the William de Perci, with whom our list begins, may perhaps have been a grandson of Alan de Percy, son of the above, who died (1120) in the time of Henry I.

The chartulary professes to trace the possession of the

[1] *See* Taylor's *Domesday Survey of Gloucestershire*, p. 161

[2] *See* Sandford's *Genealog. Hist.*, p. 32; Freeman's *William Rufus*, ii. 65.

[3] Fontblanque, in his *Annals of the House of Percy*, makes no mention of the Great Chalfield family. But connection with the chief house was certainly claimed by the unquestioned possession of the ancient arms, and we may surely allow the claim, though unable to establish the link with any certainty.

manor from a period beyond legal memory. The rubric is as follows:—[1] "These ben for certayn all the pedegrees and mean estates in substance of all inheritours, purchasours and occupiers of the manor of Estchaldefeld, otherwise called Moche Chaldefeld, with the office of constablewyke of the Castell of Trobrigge, in the counte of Wilteshire, fro the tyme of Kyng Harry is day the thirde, and before fro tyme that no mynde rynneth, unto annum quintum. Edwardi quarti [1465–6] declared undirstond and clerely determyned by the counseil lerned of Thomas Tropenell, Squyer, and by himself." Against this is written in the margin, "Henricus de Percy tenuit in Chaldefeld feodum unius militis de Comite Sarum, et ipse de Rege de honore de Trobryg, nunc in manibus Thome Tropenell." This description of the holding is further enlarged in the text just below, where we are told that all who had possessed the said manor "ffro the tyme that no mind rynneth, and before, have hold the said manor of Estchaldefeld of the erle of Salysbery, and he of the honour of Trobrygge by an hole knyght fee as h^t apperyth in the chekker in the boke of fees[2] made in ye tyme of King Edward ye furst, sone to Kyng Harry ye iij^de; and also they have hadde and okypyed the offyce of ye Constabilwyke of ye seid castell of Trobrigge[3]

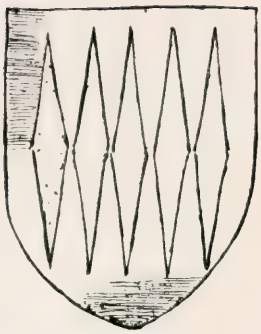
[1] MS., p. 341.

[2] *i.e.*, Testa de Nevill, seu liber feodorum in curia Scaccarii. temp. H. iii., Ed. I.

[3] It will be seen below that while sometimes, as *e.g.* in the Inquisition taken at the Death of Tropenell in 1488, it is stated that the manor of Great Chalfield was held "by service of being Constable of Trowbridge Castle," in point of fact the Constableship was sometimes violently severed from the manor, and we find it at least once so held by royal patent (*see* below, pp. 220, 221). The office was considered by the holders of the manor as one of honour and emolument, but the loss of the Constableship did not involve forfeiture of the manor.

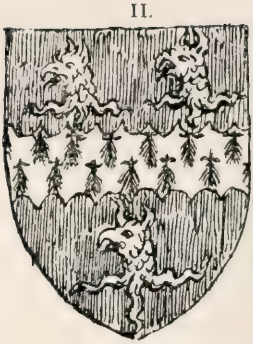
It appears from the Inquisition of 1348 (kindly sent to me by Mr. A Story-Maskelyne) that certain nine acres in Little Chalfield and a rent of 2s. were held by Henry de Percy (*i.e.*, Sir Harry Percy the third—*see* below, p 206) of the lords of Trowbridge by service of the ward of a tower there (per servitium custodiendi quandam turrim ibidem) for 40 days in war time, the lords of Trowbridge holding of the King in chief by Knight service. This tower, no doubt, belonged to the town defence, but its custody had possibly nothing to do with the Constableship.

I.



PERCY.

II.



TROPENELL.

IV.

ROCHE.

III

ROUS.

V.

LUDLOW.

VI.

PERSHAY.

w^t a place in Trobrigge called y^e logge place, otherwyse called a syte w^t a gardyn called the logge place, and a wey to ye same by ye space of vij fote of brede. Takyng all maner fees, issues and profites apperteynyng or belonging to the same office ffro the seid tyme of no mynde vsed also and acustomed. Alwey to be discharged of all maner rentes, sutes, and all other services and demaundes ayenst the lordes of the said maner of Trobrigge."

In tracing the succession we are met by a difficulty at the threshold. The MS. commences with a Sir Harry de Percy "before time of mind," who is followed by his son, Sir Piers, also "before time of mind"; while the next on the list, Sir William, was acting in 1260 and 1273 (*see* below). Going back then from these ascertained dates, it is not possible to place his father, Sir Piers, in a period before legal memory—*i.e.*, before 1189 (1 R. I), and we must suppose the expression used somewhat vaguely. On the other hand, there is a William de Perci not mentioned in the chartulary, but of whose existence and whose date there can be no doubt, to whom the first place may be assigned with the greatest probability.

I. William de Perci, who excused himself from answering in Court on an action concerning land in Wilts, January 27, 1 John, 1199, on the ground of sickness at Chalfield.[1]

II. Sir Harry[2] de Percy, Knt., "before tyme of mynd," whose arms were "azure, five fusils conjoined in fess or" (*see* on Plate No. 1), was seized of the manor of Great Chalfield, and of the manors of West Portlemouth, co. Devon, Upcerne, and Folke, co. Dorset, in his demesne as in fee—that is, in his absolute and sole possession with power to dispose of it as he pleased, subject only to the services which under the feudal law were inalienable from it. He had issue:

III. Sir Piers de Percy, Knt., who, on the death of his

[1] Essoniavit se de malo lecti apud Chadesfeld, &c. (*Rot. Cusiæ Regis*, i. 245; see also pp. 248, 288, 324)

[2] The pedigree in the chartulary begins with this Knight.

father "before tyme of mynde," entered upon all the said estates, and was seised of them in his demesne as in fee. He married Beatrice, daughter of Sir Otys Dynham, of Devonshire, Knt., whose arms were "gules, four fusils conjoined in fess arg." This Beatrice, in her widowhood, obtained in perpetuity for herself and heirs from brother Henry de Fleg, Prior of Monkton Farlegh and the convent there (founded about 1125), the privilege of presenting a fit and proper person to be a monk in that house, who should be sufficient in singing and reading, and should proceed to priests' orders, and serve continually in the Church of Farlegh, and pray for the souls of the said Beatrice, her ancestors and successors. The grant is undated.[1] Sir Piers and Beatrice had issue:

IV. Sir William Percy, Knt., who, on his father's death, entered upon the manor of Great Chalfield and the above estates. He married Agnes, daughter of Sir John Strugge, Knt., lord of half West Codford, co. Wilts, which land was purchased in fee by Sir Thomas Hungerford. The Strugge arms were "arg., three lions rampant, sa. two and one." Sir William obtained from brother William de Cicester, Prior of Monkton Farlegh, and from the convent there, confirmation of grant to present one monk in perpetuity, dated February 7th, 1260.[2] A few years later, 2 Ed. I. (1273-4), we find him making estate to Walter Wilton and Geoffrey de Aune of the manor of Upcerne, with the advowson of the church at a rental of £27 per annum."[3]

Sir William and Agnes had six children: Sir Harry Percy, Knt., John, Sir William,[4] and Sir Nicholas, Knts.; Isabel and Katharine, who all died without issue, except the first (of whom presently), and Katharine, who was married to Walter Tropenell. The M.S. now turns to this daughter, and continues with the Tropenell family till

[1] MS., p. 367. [2] MS., p. 368. [3] P. 342.

[4] Mr. Hubert Hall, of the Public Record Office, calls my attention to a very early erasure in the M.S., over which the names of Sir William and Sir Nicholas have been written. This occurs twice.

the then present time (1466), and it may be convenient to follow the same arrangement.

Walter Tropenell was second son to Sir Osbert, [1] and brother to Sir James, Knt,, "before the tyme of mynd lordes and patrones of Sopworth in Wilteshire w^t the lawday of the same and other londes," &c. Their arms were (Plate, No. 2) "gules, a fesse engrailled, arg., powdered with ermine, between 3 griffins' heads of the same erased." Walter inherited[2] parcel of his father's lands in Sopworth, all his lands in Much and Little Sherston, Whaddon by Ivychurch, and Combe. Walter and Katharine had issue a son, Philip, and a daughter, Galiena. The latter received from her father a marriage portion of his lands in Sopworth, which in her widowhood she gave[3] to the house of Monkton Farlegh about 1247. She died childless.[4] Philip married Isaude, daughter of Richard Cotell, of Cottles Atworth, whose arms were "Or, a bend gules." Their children were Roger Tropenell, of Whaddon by Ivychurch and John Tropenell of Sherston.

Roger, who inherited from his father lands, &c., in Whaddon and Combe, and was in possession of his property in 5 Ed. I. (1277) and 9 Ed. II. (1316), as we learn from deeds,[5] married Christian, daughter of Sir John Rous, lord of Imber, and sister to Richard Rous, ancestor to William Rous (of whom below); whose arms were (*see* Plate No. 3) a "field departed az. and gules, three lions' rampant arg., powdered with ermine armed with gules and azure." They had several children, who all died without issue excepting John.[6]

[1] From a deed tested but undated (p. 714), we find that the father of Sir Osbert was Sir George le Tropenell, though the pedigree in the chartulary commences with Sir Osbert (see pedigree at end of this paper) The witnesses were; Gerard le Mautravers, Henry le Percy, William de Montefort, Bartholomew Badelismere, Knts., John Yevelton, Nicholas. his son, Roger de Kaynys, Nicholas Comerwell, and William Monte (Sir Osbert's steward), and others. [2] M.S., p. 716.

[3] These lands are stated (Wilts Fines) to have been exchanged in 1206 for land at Uffcott with Elias de Turri, probably a prior of Monkton Farlegh. (Jackson's *Aubrey*, p. 112.)

[4] Pp. 342, 711. [5] Pp. 712, 713. [6] P. 343.

John, whose name appears as the grantor in deeds of 14 Ed. III. (1340) and 17 Ed. III. (1343),[1] married Agnes, daughter of James Lye, lord of Landford, whose arms were "Arg. a fesse gules, in chief three bucks heads sable." They had but one child, namely:

Harry, who married Edith, daughter of Walter Roche, younger brother to Sir John Roche, Knt., sons of John Roche of Bromham, whose arms were (Plate No. 4) "Azure, within a bordure arg., three roaches of the same." Their issue was:

Thomas Tropenell, Esquire, "now [*i.e.* 1465-6] lord of the seid Moche Chaldefeld, which had the lyverys of ij Kynges, that is to sey, of Kyng Harry the sixt and Kyng Edward the iiijth." He married Margaret,[2] daughter of William Ludlow, of Hill Deverell, butler of Henry IV., Henry V. and Henry VI., whose arms were (*see* Plate No. 5) "Arg., a chevron between three martens' heads erased sable." Ludlow was "buried in Seynt Thomas Church in new Salisbury undir a marble tombe[3] atte ende of the hygh auter in the northside therof. The ile of the which the said William Ludlow hathe late new siled and paynted and sette w[t] scochyns of armes of hymself his wyf and his children."[4]

Thomas and Margaret had two sons, Humphrey and Christopher, and two daughters, Anne and Mary, "all alive atte makyng of this boke."[5]

Returning now to the younger line, John Tropenell inherited from his father, Philip, lands in Much and

[1] Pp. 713, 714.

[2] This was his *second* marriage; *see* more on his marriages below, p. 224.

[3] In spite of Murray's *Guide* (1882) the name of Ludlow is not even remembered at S. Thomas's. Hoare, *Hist. of Salisbury*, p. 590, tells us that at a then recent restoration of the church, the Ludlow tomb was taken from the situation it had long occupied, on the north side of the chancel, and broken to pieces; and the remains of himself, his wife and child thrown into some unknown corner. This was no doubt the case, and inquiry has failed to elicit any further information.

[4] Pp. 343, 714. [5] *i.e.* the Tropenell chartulary.

Little Sherston. His name occurs in deeds concerning Sherston and Kington in the 14th, 15th and 16th Ed. II. (1321—1322).[1] He "had issue John," mentioned in deeds 39, Ed. III. (1366) and 44 Ed. III. (1370),[2] "and John had issue John," who with his wife, Matilda, occurs in deeds 1 H. VI. (1423) down to 15 H. VI. (1437),[3] "and John had issue Agnes, wedded to Thomas Ive of Sherston: whiche had issue togedres John Ive, otherwise namyng himself John Tropenell, and Harry, a younger son, alive atte makyng of þis boke." We resume the succession to the estate.

Sir Harry Percy,[4] the second, succeeded to Great Chalfield and the other manors on the death of his father. We find him holding a fee in Folk and Upcerne of the Bishop of Salisbury in 1285, and John de Percy holding half in Upcerne of the said Henry. He married Eva, daughter of Sir John Gifford, lord of Broughton Gifford, whose arms were "Azure and or, checky." They had four children: Sir Roger, Sir Walter, and Sir William, Knts., and Julian, all of whom but the first-born died childless.

VI. Sir Roger Percy, Knt., on the death of his father (perhaps about 1303), entered on the manor of Great Chalfield, and the other estates, and was holding them in 9 Ed. II.[5] (1316). He married Dorothy Ryvers, lord (*sic*) of Burgate, Southamptonshire, whose arms are left blank in the MS. Their children were Sir Harry, John, and Emmot; the two latter died without issue, but John was alive, as we shall see, in 30 Ed. III. (1356), when on January 26th he released to Bishop Wyville,[7] and on March 16th to dame Constance (*see* below), any right he might have in Great Chalfield.[8]

[1] Pp. 715, 716. [2] P. 717. [3] Pp. 718, 719.

[4] His holding is mentioned, Testa de Nevill, pp. 135, 138b, &c.

[5] *Feudal Aids* (Dorset), vol. ii.

[6] *See* Canon Jones's *Nomina Villarum*, *Wilts Arch. Mag.*, xii.

[7] Deed, p. 374. [8] Pp. 344, 345, 375.

VII. Sir Harry Percy, Knt., the third, entered duly on the estates. He took to wife, firstly, Alianore, daughter of Sir Walter Skydmore, Knt., lord of Upton Scudamore, co. Wilts, whose arms were "Gules, three stirrups arg. two and one, the leathers azure, the pendants, buckles and studs or." Sir Harry, by deed bearing date February 10th, 12 Ed. III. (1338), enfeoffed William Burgayn, perpetual Vicar of Upton Scudamore, and John de Chaldefeld, parson of Great Chalfield, with the manor and advowson of Great Chalfield,[1] who on June 28th, the same year, enfeoffed Sir Harry and his wife, Alianore, and the heirs and assigns of the said Sir Harry with the same properties,[2] by virtue of which enfeoffment Sir Harry became seised "in his demesne as in fee" and "Alianore in her demesne as of freehold."[3] Among the witnesses to these deeds was George de Percy, no doubt of the Percy or Pershay family of Little Chalfield, of whom hereafter. Sir Harry and Alianore had but one child, Beatrice.

On the death of Alianore, Sir Harry took as his second wife Constance, "bedfelow and cosyn to Maister Robert Wayville, bisshop of Salisbury,[4] born to no lond, neither to none armes;" and by deed[5] bearing date October 2nd, 23 Ed. III. (1349), enfeoffed in fee Sir Rauf Olney and Sir Reynold of Berley (*see* list of rectors below), parsons of Broughton Gifford and Little Chalfield, with his manors of Great Chalfield, and Folke, co. Dorset, and with the advowsons of the same, &c., and later in the month Reginald de Berley released in fee his right to Sir Rauf Olney.[6] He, being thus sole seised of the whole above manors and advowsons, made estate of the same again by deed, October 31st, same year, to the said Sir Harry and to Constance, his second wife, and to their

[1] Deeds, p. 370. [2] Pp. 370, 371. [3] P. 344

[4] From 1330 to 1375.

[5] P. 371. Mention is made in this deed of William de Percy, and Thomas de Percy is among the witnesses.

[6] P. 372.

issue, with remainder in default of this to the rightful heirs of Sir Harry.[1] And afterwards, by fine in the King's Court, January 27th, 28 Ed. III. (1354), Sir Harry and Constance plaintiffs, and Sir Rauf and Sir Reynold, deforciants, the latter in the usual manner granted the said manors to the plaintiffs, and to the heirs of their bodies, and in default of such issue with remainder to the right heirs of Sir Harry in fee: by virtue of which fine Sir Harry and Constance were seised in their demesne as of fee tail.[2]

After this it seems, but the matter was never made clear, that some kind of estate in the same properties was given to Bishop Wyville: and to him as above stated (p. 205). John Percy released with a warranty (1356) any right he might have in the manors of Great Chalfield and Folke. However this may have been, it is certain that Sir Harry re-entered and continued his possession: and finally started on pilgrimage[3] for Jerusalem, driven to this step, it appears asserted, "by the naughty lyf that the said Constance, his second wyf lyved in with bisshop Wayvile and with other." He died on his way at Cologne, where he was buried, having had no issue by his second wife.[4]

VIII. Constance was now, and so remained during her life, in full possession of all the properties as tenant in special tail "apres possibilité d'issue extinct." And now in her widowhood she received from Bishop Wyville, by deed dated Sherborne, March 5th, 30 Ed. III. (1356),[5] a release of the manors and advowsons of Great Chalfield and Folke, which he had by concession of the late Sir Harry; and a release from John Percy (*see* above, p. 205) on March 16th, the same year,[6] all which appears to have been so much void action because of the late Sir Harry Percy's "entre aycne upon the seid bisshop: and also because that

[1] Pp. 345, 365, Deed, 372. [2] Pp. 345, 374.

[3] A later hand has supplied a date over the line—"Feb. 4, 31 Ed. III." [1357]; not noticing that this is inconsistent with what follows.

[4] P. 346. [5] Pp. 346, 375. [6] Pp. 346, 365, 375.

Constaunce was sesed of the seid maner and other but as of frehold."[1]

Constance now took as her second husband John Pershay,[2] otherwise called Percy, in no way related to the above family of Percy, but son of George Pershay or Percy, the first lord of that name in Little Chalfield, in right of his wife Margaret, who bore arms (Plate, No. 6), "Ermine, on a chief gules a lion passant or, crowned azure," otherwise "A lion passant arg.,"[3] and both were seised of the manor and other possessions in right of Constance as tenant in tail as above. But now law troubles commenced, if they had not before.

In Easter term, 33 Ed. III. (1359), Beatrice, daughter and heir of Sir Harry and Alianora, through her guardian Michael Skillyng,[4] she being under age, tried to recover the manors of Great Chalfield and Folke, &c., from Pershay and Constance by suing a "formedon in descendre" against them, *i.e.* a writ for the recovery of her inheritance according to the form of donation in the feoffment made to her father and mother (June 28th, 1338; *see* above, p. 206). The jury, however, declared that the feoffment had been to Sir Harry and Alianora his wife, and to the heirs of Sir Harry in fee simple, and not to the heirs of their bodies in fee tail as Beatrice had contended.[5] Pershay and Constance were thus far victorious, and Beatrice took nothing by her suit.

Pershay seems to have died about this time; and soon after Beatrice, in duresse and under age, as it was constantly asserted and subsequently (1467) proved, in view

[1] *I.e.* her life-tenancy.

[2] Pp. 346, 362, 474: the name is also written Percehay. We meet with Henry Percehay in 1361, 1374 (pp. 72, 73).

[3] It is said of a descendant, "I trow he understandes not whether [of the two shields] he haught to bere" (p. 473).

[4] Another Michael Skilling, of New Sarum, no doubt a direct descendant of the above, was among the attainted and pardoned 1 R. III. and 1 H. VII. (1483 and 1485). Rot. Parl. VI. 246, 273

[5] Pp. 347, 468, 469.

no doubt of impending marriages, and probably under the influence of her strong and unscrupulous step-mother, released to Constance and her heirs in fee, by deed dated Potterne, May 7th, 35 Ed. III. (1361), all her right and title to Great Chalfield and the other possessions.[1]

It will be well now to follow Beatrice. She was married, firstly, about this time, while still under age, to John Belet, Esq., lord of Southcote, near Reading, who, dying without issue, she married, secondly, Reynold Pavot, Esq., lord of Plaitford, Hants, by whom she had five children, who all died without issue. She married, thirdly, Robert Beverley, sergeant-at-arms with Richard II., a "riotous man" of Gloucester, born to no land or arms. There were three children by this marriage, of whom we shall hear again—Thomas, Allayn, and John the hermit. Beatrice must have been unhappy; and this plain-speaking chronicle gives the name of her husband's mistress and of his four illegitimate children, with whom, however, we are not concerned. She was at length left a widow with her three sons. Her husband was buried at Bermondsey Abbey by London; and she herself died in the 4 Henry VI. (1425-6), and was buried at Hyde Abbey, Winchester.

We now return to Constance. She married, thirdly, Sir Philip FitzWaryn, of Bratton, Wilts, Knt., "born to no land and no kyn to FitzWaryns of the West Countre," who bore "Gules and argent, quarterly, denty," while he bore "Or and gules, quarterly, denty." And now Sir Philip and Constance, seised of the property in right of the latter, enfeoffed Sir William FitzWaryn,[3] of Westbury, Knt., and Piers FitzWaryn, clerk, by deed dated at East Chalfield, August 16th, 35 Ed. III. (1361)[4]; and a few days later (August 29th)

[1] Pp. 347, 376. [2] P. 347.

[3] It appears that in 1346 Sir Harry Percy III. and William FitzWaryn held the fee in Folk and Upcerne, which the heirs of Sir Harry Percy and John de Percy formerly held (*Feudal Aids*).

[4] Pp. 348, 376. In this deed mention is made of William de Percy and Thomas Percy.

received back in fee, from the said William and Piers, the manors and advowsons and other properties, to themselves and issue between them, failing which to the right heirs of Constance.[1] And afterwards a fine was levied in the King's Court, October 20th the same year (1361), between the said Sir William FitzWaryn, plaintiff, in an action of covenant, and Sir Philip FitzWaryn and Constance, his wife, deforciants, concerning the manors, by which fine Sir Philip and Constance acknowledged the properties in question to be the right of the said Sir William, as having been given to him by them; for the which acknowledgment, fine, and concord Sir William granted to Sir Philip and Constance by the same fine the aforesaid manors of Great Chalfield and Folke to themselves and to their lawful issue; failing which, with remainder to Robert, the son of Bishop Wyville and Constance, by the name of Robert only, and in default of issue there to Hugh, a brother of Constance, and finally, in lack of issue there, to the lawful heirs of the said Constance.[2]

It will appear in the sequel that this grant and confirmation by fine was inoperative, owing to defect in title of Sir Philip and Constance; as it was, their assumption was followed by the litigation of a hundred years.

Sir Philip and Constance had two daughters—Isaude and Johan (of whom later). And now Sir Philip died, after 1367—possibly some years after that date,[3] at which an exchange of land was made with the monastery of Edington; the above-mentioned Robert and Hugh also died without issue.[4]

On the death of her third husband Constance took a fourth—Sir Harry de la Ryver, lord of Tormarton, co. Gloucestershire, Knt.—apparently in 1385[5]; but it is needless to say there were no children by this marriage, and she was in her fourth widowhood by 1404.

[1] Pp. 348, 377. [2] Pp. 334, 348, 378.

[3] Inquis. p.m. 40 Ed. III.; also documents, Hoare's *Westbury*, p. 61.

[4] Pp. 335, 348. [5] P. 449.

We now turn to the daughters of Sir Philip FitzWaryn and Constance. (1) Isaude became the wife of John Rous, lord of half Imber and of Baynton, Esq., son to Richard Rous (*see* in the Tropenell pedigree). They had but two children, William (of whom presently) and John. Besides this, however, Isaude's husband had an illegitimate son, Richard Phillips or Rous, who, to add to the confusion, took to wife Alice, daughter and heir to John Percy or Pershay, lord of Little Chalfield, great-grandson to George Percy or Pershay, the first lord of that name in Little Chalfield.[1] John Rous had also several other illegitimate children—one, Thomas, became William Rous's farmer at Great Chalfield—but we need not follow them.

William Rous,[2] the elder son of Isaude and John, married, firstly, Margaret Thorp, sister to Rauf Thorp, lord of Boscombe by Salisbury, Esq.

(2) Johan FitzWaryn married Thomas Beaushyn, then of Dorsetshire, afterwards of Cottles Atworth,[3] Esq., whose arms were "Paly of six wavy, sable and arg. on a chief of the first three crescents of the second."[4] We shall hear of their issue lower down.

And now Constance, in her fourth widowhood and in her old age, seised by virtue of the entail to herself and Sir Philip of the manors and advowsons of Great Chalfield, Folke, Cottles Atworth, &c., made a feoffment of them by deed to Robert Long and Nicholas Videlowe in fee with a warranty; and by deed[5] tripartite indented, July 6th, 4 H. V.

[1] Pp. 349, 362.

[2] In 1 H. VI. (1422) he is found to hold manor of Imber from the King "in capite pro servitio essendi unus de Camerariis domini Regis," as his ancestor Ric. Ruffus had held in time of H. II. In 16 H. VII. (1437-8) he sold Imber and half manor of Folke to Walter Lord Hungerford for a yearly annuity; and two years before had granted all his rights in Imber South to Edington. (*See* Hoare's *Heytesbury*, pp. 161, 162.)

[3] P. 335. [4] P. 350

[5] I have retained law expressions wherever they occur in English just as they stand in the MS. In the very involved law proceedings which follow I have adhered strictly to my authority, and have ventured on as little comment as possible.

(1416), took estate again from them of all the manors, &c., for term of her life, with remainder, after her decease, of the manor of Great Chalfield (certain parcels of land excepted) and of half the manor of Folke, with alternate presentation to the church there, to her grandson, William Rous, son of Isaude and John, and to Margaret, his wife, and the lawful issue of the said William, failing which to John, his brother in tail, and in fault of issue there to Thomas Beaushyn and his wife Johan, second daughter of Sir Philip and herself, and to the lawful issue of the said Johan, and finally to Johan's rightful heirs. The other half of Folke, with alternate presentation, the manor of Cottles Atworth, with the advowson of its church, and certain parcels of land in Great Chalfield were to go to the Beaushyns and to the lawful issue of Johan, failing which to William Rous and Margaret, and to the lawful issue of William Rous, failing which to his brother John in like manner, or finally to the heirs of William Rous.[1]

Constance, of course, remained in possession of the whole property till her death, which occurred in or after, but probably not long after, 1419.

IX. William Rous and Margaret now entered on the manor of Great Chalfield (with the certain exceptions) and on half the manor of Folke; while the Beaushyns also inherited as provided above, and resided at Cottles.

Rous and Margaret had several children, sons and daughters, but all died young without issue; while during his wife's time Rous had also illegitimate children, on whose story we need not enter. He divorced his wife, and married a second time, as we shall see, but he never had lawful issue.

Thomas Beaushyn and Johan had two sons, John and William, and two daughters, Alice and Isabel, both of whom were married and had issue, but whose fortunes we need not follow. John, the first son, died childless; William married, firstly, Johan Deny, by whom he had two sons, each

[1] Pp. 330, 335, 336, 350, 351.

named John. Of these the eldest married Johan Cricklade, with whom a sad story was connected. We know nothing of the other John. On the death of his first wife, William Beaushyn married, secondly, Alice, daughter to William Pavy, of Bristol, by whom he had one son, George.

John Rous, mentioned above as brother of William, was twice married, but had no lawful issue. He was lord of Beynton, and is said to have died in 1451,[1] and was buried with his first wife, Johan Assheley, at Edington, in the south aisle of the choir, his anniversary being kept in the rectoy church, for which purpose his manor of Beynton was held.[2] Law troubles were not long in thickening. Thomas Beverley (*see* above, p. 209), son and heir to Beatrice, daughter to Sir Harry Percy and Alianore, his first wife, sued a "scire facias," commenced in Mich. term, 6 H. VI. (1427), against William Rous and Margaret, basing his claim on the fine of 28 Ed. III. (1354), which provided that failing issue of Sir Harry Percy and Constance remainder should rest with the heirs of Sir Harry (*see* p. 207). This was answered by pleading the release made by Beatrice to Constance (*see* above, p. 209), a point "specially and tendirly soliced and labored" by Rous's attorney, who was no other than John Beaushyn, mentioned above as eldest son of Thomas and Johan, who was clerk to Judge Westbury, and acted under his master's advice and "other of as good Counseil as coude be gete in London for money." This was again answered by pleading the duresse and non-age of the said Beatrice; but before the issue of the trial Beverley died.[3]

And now upon the death of Beverley, who had left a young son—Thomas, Rous enfeoffed Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, William Darell, and others with the manor,

[1] This date cannot be correct, as he executed a release to Tropenell in Feb., 1453 (p. 399).

[2] Pp. 352, 340. The manor of Beynton had been granted to the rector and brethren in 22 H. VI., 1443-4. For some further account of this John Rous, *see Hoare's Heytesbury*, pp. 161, 162.

[3] P. 352

Jan. 1st, 7 H. VI. (1429), by virtue of which feoffment they were seised in their demesne as in fee.[1]

But his shaky tenure was never long undisturbed. The Pershays or Percies, of Little Chalfield, afterwards themselves claimants for the manor,[2] appear for some time to have joined interest with the Beverleys. Especially, we are told, on one occasion, in July, 1431, they had collected a number of men of Salisbury and elsewhere in their manor house, less than a mile off, with a view to ousting Rous; while he, with his brother John, was living at Great Chalfield Manor ready armed for all events, for they had with them "Richard of Bowys, lewtenaunte of the fforestes of Blakemore and Peuesham, Rob[t] Eyre, John Quyntyn, William Clerk, and her men fforsters of the seid fforestes, and servauntes to the seid duke of Gloucestre with many mo other herneysed to defende the seid entre."[3] What came of all this we are not told.

We are introduced to Thomas Tropenell, the future re-builder of the manor-house, a few years later, he being then apparently tenant of the manor. By a deed of feoffment with a condition in English, dated June 24th, 15 H. VI. (1437) —it looks something like the sale of a contingent remainder— we find William Rous conveying to Henry Long,[4] Richard Chok,[5] and Thomas Tropenell, and to the heirs of the latter, all his properties (enumerated), the witnesses being Sir Robert Hungerford, Sir John Beynton, and others named. The condition was that should he (the said William Rous) have lawful issue, then the said feoffees should make estate to the said William and his heirs; but failing such issue, all the properties after his decease should remain to Thomas Tropenell and his heirs. The manors of Imber and Folke[6]

[1] Pp. 352, 383-5. [2] P. 473. [3] P. 362.

[4] Probably of South Wraxall.

[5] Afterwards sergeant-at-law, and subsequently (1461) judge of the Common Pleas (*see* below).

[6] It appears that almost directly after this he sold Imber and Folke to Lord Hungerford (*see* note above, p. 211).

were to be sold at the will of Tropenell, while a sum of £20 was to be given to each of four bastard children of Rous in order to promote their marriage, and should any of these die in the meanwhile the remaining money was to be used at the disposal of Thomas Tropenell for the benefit of the said William Rous and his ancestors. At the same time Rous gives authority, in reference to Great Chalfield, to William Darell and his other feoffees (*see* above, p. 213) to release to Henry Long, Richard Chok, and Thomas Tropenell, and to his heirs, all right and claim that they had received from him some time before. Accordingly under this special authority from Rous—but it was not quite immediately—they released to Tropenell, at that time tenant of the manor, and to his heirs in fee, all right and title in the same, Sept. 29th, 17 H. VI. (1438).[1]

Margaret Rous was divorced about this time and died, after which Rous took as his second wife Isabel Godechild, asserted with detail to have been at the time the wife of another man, but who was undoubtedly accepted as the wife of Rous.

And now some few years later Thomas Beverley, son of the last of that name and grandson of Beatrice, sued another "scire facias" against Rous's feoffees—Long, Chok, and Tropenell—for the manor of Great Chalfield, in Hilary and Trinity terms, 22 and 23 H. VI. (1444-5), claiming as the heir of Sir Harry Percy, and pleading the non-age of Beatrice when she made the release to Constance; while the feoffees of course affirmed the contrary, denying all right of Beverley to the manor.[2] No issue is recorded, but in the next year we find Thomas Tropenell, of Great Atworth, enfeoffing Robert Northfolk, Robert Lye, and John Coke with his manor and advowson of Great Chalfield, &c., Jan. 6th, 24 H. VI. (1446),[3] upon whose possession William Rous entered again;[4] and then we find Tropenell releasing to Rous and to his heirs for ever all right and title to the

[1] Pp. 353, 354, 385—387. [2] Pp. 354, 388—390.

[3] P. 390. [4] P. 354.

manors which he had in reversion in default of lawful issue by Rous (*see* above), in consideration of having received from him estate by fine in a certain 120 acres of land in Great Chalfield. Tropenell, who seems to have been residing about this time in his mansion at Neston, also delivered up all obligations from Rous and documents concerning the property. The release of the feoffees—Long, Chok, and Tropenell—to Rous in accordance with this is dated Feb. 1st, 25 H. VI. (1447). On this (Feb. 3rd, same year) Rous took estate by fine of the various properties to himself and Isabel his wife and their issue, failing which to the heirs of Isabel;[1] and he enfeoffed Master Adam Moleyns, Bishop of Chichester, Master John Stokes, Roger Harper, chaplain, and others, by deed dated Feb. 8th, 25 H. VI. (1447), who made a lease of the manor for term of years to Thomas Tropenell, upon whose possession the above-mentioned feoffees of Tropenell—Northfolk, Lye, and Coke—entered into the manor and put out Tropenell, claiming their first estate, and then enfeoffed Tropenell again by deed dated July 5th, 27 H. VI. (1449), releasing to him by deed the next day, he being so tenant of the manor, all their right and title to the same in fee.[2]

We next hear of the death of Rous. His will was dated August 28th, 30 H. VI. (1452), and he died in London on the last day of the same month, leaving no legitimate children, and was buried at the Grey Friars, London.[3] He had not done well in his tenure. He had been ousted before this from the cherished appurtenance of the manor, the Constableship of Trowbridge Castle (*see* pp. 200, 220), and it is charged against him that he had taken no pains to recover it,[4] "for he was allway ocupied in lechery and avowtry (adultery) and toke none hede to sew therfor, but only for to devowre and selle away all his wodes and his tylestones tymbre and his houses."[5]

[1] Pp. 354-5, 392-3. [2] Pp. 354-5, 394-5. [3] Pp. 340, 395.

[4] Though for one small effort at least *see* below, p. 221.

[5] P. 363.

X. Upon the death of Rous in 1452, Isabel, his widow, who is described as of London, entered on the manor again in accordance with the will of her late husband, receiving from his feoffees—Roger Harper, chaplain, Stephen Forster, and others (Bishop Moleyns, John Stokes, &c., being now dead)—by direction of the will, full right and title to the manors to herself and her heirs in fee, Nov. 14th, 6 H. VI. (1452), disseising Thomas Tropenell.[1]

Tropenell, however, entered again, and put out Isabel; after which the latter released all her rights in the manor to him and to his heirs in fee, by deed July 6th, 32 H. VI. (1454), confirming all this more than once in September, the same year, to Tropenell and to co-feoffees—Richard Chok, serjeant-at-law, and Thomas Yonge[2]—upon which Tropenell, having entered, continued his possession, his co-feoffees, Chok and Yonge, surrendering to him all rights, Nov. 3rd, by virtue of which surrender he was seised in his demesne in fee, and a few days later (Nov. 12th) Isabel made estate by fine in the King's Court to him and his heirs, reserving certain considerations for herself and an annual rent of 100*s.* for life, with the proviso, however, that should the manor be recovered by any other claimant on ancient and just title, this annuity should cease to be a charge on Tropenell.[3] It was afterwards (Jan. 30th, 1459) compounded for, when Isabel further renounced all claim to the manor.[4]

But now again, the same year (1454), Thomas Beverley made what was subsequently described as lawful entry[5] upon the manor, on the grounds of the forfeiture of her estate by Constance through levying the fine of 35 Ed. III.

[1] Pp. 355, 398.

[2] Pp. 399—403. Abundant erasures occur in these deeds. From a subsequent document (p. 406) we find that among the original feoffees were Richard Duke of York, Thomas Earl of Devonshire, John Earl of Worcester, John Viscount of Beaumont, Sir Reginald Stourton, Knt., Nicholas Asshton; but all these names have been carefully erased and the spaces left blank.

[3] Pp. 355-7, 405. [4] P. 422.

[5] Pp. 338-9, 357.

(1361),[1]—ousting Tropenell. He also entered on the possessions of Johan Beaushyn and of others, inherited as above, and for the same reasons.[2] However, so soon as December 4th, same year (1454), we find—no doubt after money had passed—seisin delivered again by Beverley's attorneys to Richard Chok, Thomas Tropenell, &c., and to the heirs and assigns of Tropenell.[3] A release also occurs from Beverley to the same of all his rights, dated Dec. 12th, same year;[4] while some time after Richard Chok and other co-feoffees of Beverley release to Thomas Tropenell and James Brown, and to the heirs and assigns of the former, all right and title to the manor, Nov. 25th, 35 H. VI. (1456).[5] After this we find a feoffment by Tropenell,[6] dated Sept. 10th, 37 H. VI. (1458), bestowing his manor of Great Chalfield, &c., on Robert Lord Hungerford, Gilbert Kymer, Dean of Sarum, William Ludlow, his father-in-law, and others; and ten days after Johan Beaushyn, now a widow, waiving any claim of her own which she had been lately asserting, signed a document at Neston, Sept. 20th, 37 H. VI. (1458), relinquishing to Tropenell and his heirs all right to the manor.[7] And at length a final concord was agreed between the parties, Oct. 17th, same year, Johan and her son William releasing to Tropenell all right and title to Great Chalfield, &c., and being bound, each of them, by statute staple, in the sum of £200 to Thomas Tropenell, to observe the terms of the final concord.[8] By this deed some acknowledgments were made to Isabel Rous, the widow, and William Beaushyn specially bound himself in view of liberation, through Tropenell, from prison in the King's Bench, where, for whatever reason, his lodging had been for some little while. All this was solemnly affirmed under sanction of the Court of Arches by instrument bearing date Oct. 19th (1458),[9] the document being duly delivered to Tropenell.

Still, no more than two months later, Johan entered

[1] Above, p. 209. [2] Pp. 338-9, 357. [3] P. 407.
[4] Pp. 357, 408. [5] Pp. 357, 413-14. [6] P. 434.
[7] P. 421. [8] Pp. 359, 360. [9] Pp. 360, 417—421.

again on the whole manor and properties (specified), Dec. 20th,[1] ousting Tropenell, distraining cattle, and remaining in possession till Feb. 23rd next (1459), when by a writ of right sued out in Hilary term that year, Johan making default, judgment for recovery of the whole manor was given to Tropenell, who thus again obtained possession, April 18th, same year.[2]

But a further step became necessary. Johan and William, her son, having again made entry on the manor the same year, Tropenell, in July (1459), obtained judgment at Salisbury and recovered on an assize of novel disseisin, being finally put in possession of the manor, &c., by Hugh Pagenam [Pakenham], Sheriff of Wilts, as subsequently exemplified in Chancery, Feb. 7th, 2 Edward IV. (1463);[3] after which Tropenell, being in actual possession, Johan and her son execute various deeds in his favour in July, 1459, in 1461 and 1462.

Tropenell had been amply reinstated, but by no means to the satisfaction of Beverley. He tried another "scire facias" against him for the manor of Great Chalfield, &c., whereupon Tropenell pleaded that Beverley had before been seised of the manor, but that he had on divers occasions made over to him all his rights, and he showed the many deeds of confirmation and release made to him by Beverley, especially the above quoted of Dec., 1454.[4] To all this Beverley confessed in open court, and so took nothing by his suit, Nov. 23rd, H. VI. (1459).[5]

John the Hermit, who must have been an old man, also released to Tropenell, by deed dated Feb. 5th, 38 H. VI. (1460), at Heytesbury, where he died and was buried.[6]

And finally, on March 10th, 2 Ed. IV. (1462), William Ludlow and the remaining co-feoffees deliver up to Tropenell their charge of his properties (enumerated).[7]

XI. Tropenell, though in possession, was hardly in peace.

[1] Pp. 360, 423. [2] Pp. 361, 424, also 340.
[3] Pp. 361, 429—434. [4] *See* above, p. 218. [5] Pp. 357, 426—429.
[6] Pp. 358, 436-7. [7] P. 476.

For one thing, the Constableship of Trowbridge Castle had to be regained. It had been lost, as stated above, some years before. The story was that Rous, as a partisan of Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, had joined him with several servants at the Parliament at Leicester in 1426, and had drawn on himself the special enmity of the Cardinal of England (Beaufort), Gloucester's uncle, at that time one of the feoffees of the Duchy of Lancaster, of which duchy the lordship of Trowbridge was parcel. In consequence of this, through the influence of the cardinal, it was stated, Rous lost his office. It is said to have been purchased by Robert Andrews, steward of the manor, for his nephew, John Bourne, Rous's bitter enemy, and as also appears a claimant, through the Pershays, for Great Chalfield. At all events Bourne, who was second husband to Alice, daughter and heiress to John Percy or Pershay, lord of Little Chalfield, obtained the office of Constable "for a time," or as afterwards stated, such was the confusion, through "hereditary right."[1] After this Thomas Harvey, a yeoman of the King's Guard, was appointed by royal patent, and held the office "till he was slain at Lambourne, Berks, about the taking of John Rogers." During the last two years of Henry VI. Tropenell had constantly endeavoured to recover, but in 1 Ed. IV. (1461) John Bourne,[2] the younger, son of the above John and Alice, was admitted, it was averred, by bribery of Barnard Colvile, at that time clerk of the court at Trowbridge.[3] Tropenell must have gained possession not long after this, for possession is assumed on the face of the chartulary, which bears date but three or four years later. It is certain that Sir Harry de la Ryver and Constance had dealt with the Constableship in 1397,[4] and dame Constance in her widowhood in

[1] Pp. 362-3. *Trowbridge Court Roll. MS.*, p. 434.

[2] He appears to have died about 1477, seised of the manor and advowson of Little Chalfield, and of the manor of Cricklade (*Inquis. post-mortem*, 17 Ed. iv.)

[3] Pp. 363, 475. [4] P. 379.

1408;[1] while Rous, whatever his demerits, had at least petitioned his "treshault et puissant prince mon tresredoulte et gracioux seigneur le duc de Gloucestre" to intercede with the Treasurer of England and help him in regaining his hereditary rights in this respect which had been sold by the feoffees to Robert Andrews, to the petitioner's great damage. The "supplication"[2] is, unfortunately, without date; but it was clearly at the first alienation of the Constableship—perhaps not long after 1426. In another place, however, that alienation is said to have occurred about 1441.[3]

And now for a further element of trouble we return for the last time to the Beverleys and Beaushyns. William Beaushyn had somehow obtained possession, when Thomas Beverley sued a "scire facias" against him for the manor, Michaelmas term, 1466, claiming as the rightful heir of Sir Harry Percy, and entitled under the fine of 28 Ed. III. (1354).[4] The question of the old release by Beatrice to dame Constance was now decided in Beverley's favour. His ancestress was affirmed to have been in duresse and under age when she gave her signature; and the issue was that Beverley recovered the manor in full, June 14th, 7 Ed. IV. (1467).[5]

It seems a little uncertain what immediately took place, but we may make a very safe inference. On August 10th, same year, Beverley's attorneys were empowered to deliver seisin to Tropenell,[6] while the latter further received from Beverley himself, then of Fisherton Anger, by various deeds, dated August 20th, October 30th, November 6th (1467), full release of all right and title to the manor and advowson of Great Chalfield and the other properties, with the Constableship of Trowbridge Castle, all which properties and rights Beverley is stated to have lately recovered from William Beaushyn.[7] After this Beaushyn himself, then of

[1] P. 380. [2] P. 385.

[3] P. 475. [4] *See* above, p. 207. [5] Pp. 364, 458—462.

[6] Pp. 462-3. [7] Pp. 464-6.

Cottles Atworth,[1] released to Tropenell all right to the various possessions under the seal of the mayoralty of New Sarum, February 27th, 7 Ed. IV. (1468).[2]

Tropenell had now opportunity of surveying the battle-field; many had gone down in the strife, but some few opponents still survived. He had lived, as so many of our forefathers, in the midst of "law's alarms," and though use must have become second nature, it is doubtful whether he remained altogether free from anxiety. At least, so long after as 1482 we find him submitting his documents to three well-known counsel of Lincoln's Inn, who advise him, to the extent of seven folio pages, on the answers he might give to questioners; while further on occur other six pages of answers respecting his position.[3] These have been duly used.

Taking leave then of this period of litigation, and venturing to sum up in as few words as possible, the position seems to have been this: There were, omitting Tropenell for the moment, two chief lines of claimants—that deriving from Sir Harry Percy, the third; and the second from Constance and Sir Philip FitzWaryn: the former represented now by Thomas Beverley, the younger; the latter, by William Beaushyn. Of these the stronger was Beverley. His title came from the fine 28 Ed. III. (1354),[4] and he ultimately maintained his right, as we have just seen, against Beaushyn.

The title of Beaushyn had rested on the fine of FitzWaryn and Constance, 35 Ed. III. (1361).[5] But

[1] William Bewshyn, arm., presents to chapel of Cottles Atworth in 1485; Thomas Bewshene, generosus, presents in 1533 (Phillipps' *Wilts Visitations*).

[2] Pp. 477, 478.

[3] Pp. 334—340, 470-475. He took the same course in reference to his Little Durnford property about the same time (1482), consulting several well-known lawyers "at London at the taverne called the Cardynal's hatte w'oute Newgate, wich is a place accustomed for lernyd men of ye lawe to comen maters concernyng ye lawe for thassurans of men's titles" (p. 971)

[4] *See* above, p. 207. [5] *See* above, p. 209.

dame Constance had exceeded her powers, and by that very fine had forfeited her estates and given entry to the heir at law, *i.e.* the representative of Sir Harry Percy. So that all acts depending from that fine down to the entry on the manor by Thomas Beverley in December, 33 H. VI. (1454),[1] which was lawful to all intents, were utterly defeated and undone.

Again otherwise, William Rous, who derived through Constance, and whose heir William Beaushyn was, had enfeoffed Tropenell, June 24th, 15 H. VI (1437),[2] with the moiety of the property which had come to him; while as to the other moiety which went to the Beaushyns, that was at least covered on the writ of right successfully carried against Johan Beaushyn in July, 37 H. VI. (1459),[3] which indeed had extended to the whole manor. Moreover nothing could be more decisive than the result of the last "scire facias" which Beverley had just sued against Beauchyn.

There was indeed a third line of claim, that of John Bourne—but it was never seriously asserted—through Alice, his mother, heiress of the Percies or Pershays of Little Chalfield. She had married, firstly, Richard Rous, an illegitimate son of John Rous, father of William,[4] and, secondly, John Bourne. But the claim was generally treated as worthless, the Little Chalfield family being in no way related to the Percys of Great Chalfield.[5]

Tropenell's title is never stated in so many words; his estate ultimately came through Beverley. What induced the latter to give way? Was there anything of a purchase or arrangement? There can be no doubt of it; so that another family claimant, *i.e.* Tropenell himself, though not so strong in title, prevailed in the long run, especially under the past circumstances of December, 1454,[6] and November, 1459.[7] Certainly he had in his veins the blood of the Percys, though drawn from a source higher up—namely,

[1] *See* above, p. 217. [2] *See* above, p. 214.
[3] *See* above, p 219. [4] *See* above, p. 211. [5] Pp. 173-4.
[6] *See* above, p. 218. [7] *See* above, p. 219

from Katharine Percy, who had been married to his direct ancestor, Walter Tropenell.[1]

XII. Thomas Tropenell may have been born about 1405. He married, firstly, Agnes, who is mentioned as his wife in deeds of 1431, 1435, 1437, 1442, 1448, 1449. She was the widow[2] of Thomas Bourton,[3] who was cousin and heir to John Bourton, jun., of Atworth, Lockeridge, and Bourton, in Gloucestershire. It is singular that her name does not occur in the pedigree; we know nothing further of her, but that she was of a good family, and certainly Tropenell's wife for at least eighteen years. He married secondly—probably in May, 1456[4]—his cousin Margaret, second daughter to William Ludlow,[5] and widow of John Erley. She appears as wife of John Erley in a deed of 1439 and in 1447, when she receives a legacy from Robert Warmwell, as widow of John Erley and wife of Thomas Tropenell in 1456, 1457, and continues to be mentioned as wife of Tropenell in deeds to 1461. There is, however, no doubt that she lived much longer. She predeceased her husband, and as there is no reference to her in 1479, when Tropenell appointed trustees[6] with a view to his will, we may conclude that Margaret was no longer living; certainly she had died before 1486 (2 H. VII.), since in that year her name is not found in a deed which recites old grants to her husband and herself, and confirmation is granted to Thomas Tropenell alone.[7] The approximate date of her death has its bearing on the date of the manor-house and the Tropenell Chapel at Great Chalfield. Her arms are displayed abundantly over

[1] *See* p. 202, and pedigree.

[2] MS., pp. 158, 180. They were married probably in 1431, as in December that year Tropenell does homage to the Abbot of Evesham for certain lands in Burton which belonged to Agnes's first husband. She was a widow in June, 1431 (p. 157).

[3] We meet with several generations of this family, John de Bourton, Robert 1325, John 1399, John 1410, 1418, whose heir, Thomas, the husband of Agnes, was (pp. 150, 154, &c.).

[4] P. 749. [5] *See* above, p. 204, and pedigree.

[6] Pp. 783, 831. [7] P. 837.

those works, and the inference is that she was alive at the time. Looking to probability, we should hardly assign a date before 1460 for the commencement of the rebuilding, and for reasons just stated we suppose the house and church to have been finished before 1479.

It is not to be supposed that Tropenell and his possessions were altogether unaffected by the troublous times in which he lived. As a prominent county man, he could hardly fail to take some part in politics; and however skilful and wary, it was little likely he would move absolutely at ease and unharmed amid conflicting parties. We do not know much of his personal character. An enemy—whether with justice or not—calls him grasping: "The seid Thomas Tropenell is and alwey hathe be called a perillous covetous man." From the same Inquisition, 32 H. VI. (1453), we have again in hostile evidence a personal reference to Tropenell. He is represented—possibly very untruly—as one who would make his power felt if he got an adversary into his hands; but all this—according to the disingenuous speaker—might be discounted now, for on the testimony of a certain "Lyte," who came riding from London, "Thomas Tropenell was fast in prison at London, and never like to come out, and there condempned in a Teynt, and (Lyte) seid he was one of tho that atteynted hym." Why, then, mind writings and so forth? Why not take a quiet bribe and be at peace? "for Tropenell that his grete trust is on, is there he may not help hymself, and undone for ever."[1] Whether there was any shred of truth in this we cannot say, but swearing seems to have been hard and hazards were great. Tropenell's political position may have been a little difficult to define. It may not have been altogether consistent; during his long life he had to serve many masters. A petition[2] addressed by him a few years later to "my full right gracious and honorable the Erle of the Marche" throws a curious light on the times. It appears—for he fully states his case—that recovery of lands and tenements in Chicklade

[1] Pp. 522, 523. [2] Pp. 548–551.

and Hindon had been granted to him (1456) against a certain Richard Page, and Tropenell had been put in seisin by the Sheriff of the county. Page, however, had re-entered, and continued in possession some five years, supported by the might and authority of the Earl of Wiltshire, "tille now your gracious comyng home into England that it liked my full gracious lord Chaunceller,[1] that now is, to graunte a writte of redisseison unto your seid suppliant directed to the Sheref that now is." By virtue of this, Tropenell again obtained recovery and damages, and the Sheriff attempted to distrain for the value. "Whereupon," the petition continues, "there is a Walsshman called Richard Guynneth,[2] whiche pretendeth to be your servant, hath straitly charged and comaunded the seid Sheref in the name of your lordship that he shal nat make no maner of levy of the seid Catell nor no parcell therof, agenst all law and conscience: so that the seyd Sheref for displesyng your lordship dare not execute his office therin, till he have other comaundement from your seid lordship. Wherefor pleseth your gracious lordship to considre the premysses and the great costes, damages, and wronges that your seid suppliant hath suffred in this mater aforetyme, to geve in comaundement by your gracious lettre to the seid Sheref and his officers there, that they do execucion and make levew of the seid Catell to your seid suppliant according to the lawe, as reson and conscience requyreth, and as youre seid suppliant shall pray to Almyghty God to encres your worshypfull estate to His plesure and youre hertes desire." Upon this a "letter" follows "made by Edward Erle of the Marche next after the batail and feld of Northampton, next after his exilyng and comyng into this lond agene, to John Ferys, Sheref of Wiltes, for Thomas Tropenell for londes and tenementes in Chicklade and Hyndon, upon a lettre of supplicacion of

[1] George Neville, Bishop of Exeter, brother of the Earl of Warwick, appointed July 25th, 1460; removed from office June 8th, 1467.

[2] Guynneth is said in the heading to have had the "mayntenaunce of Sir Richard Benet, parson of Estcodford, a nawghty man."

the seid Thomas Tropenell." In this missive the case is again recited, and the interruption to the Sheriff is thus dealt with:—"We be enformed there is a Walsshman named Richard Guynneth pretendyng to be oure servaunt, of whom as far as we can remembre we have no knowlage, hath straitly charged and comaunded you in oure name that ye shall make no levee of the seid Catall nor of no parcell therof, so that in eschewyng oure displesure ye forbere to execute your office theryn tille from us ye have other comaundement. Therefore we wol and in the Kynges our soverayn lordes name straitly charge you that ye faithfully and truly execute the Kynges writte to you directed in that behalve after the forme tenor and effecte of the same, not sparyng for love, mede, hate, favoure, nor drede of any persone or persones, as ye wil eschewe our displesure. Yeven vnder our signet at London the xxx day of August" [1460]. But the matter does not seem to have been finally settled till Edward's fourth year.

One further indication of Tropenell's political position we find towards the end of his life, when in November, 2 R. III. (1484), he received a general pardon—possibly in reference to the Wiltshire implication in the rising of the Duke of Buckingham—"Thomas Tropenell, of Chaldefeld, in the Countie of Wiltes, Squier, hath a general pardonne."[1]

Tropenell died on Jan. 31st, 3 H. VII. (1488),[2] and was buried at Corsham in the tomb he had prepared for Margaret and himself.[3] He had appointed[4] some years before (May 10th, 19 Ed. IV., 1479), as feoffees of all his manors and properties for the fulfilment of his will, Sir Richard Beauchamp; John Catesby and Thomas Tremaille, King's sergeants-at-law; William Huddesfield, King's attorney; Master Walter Hill, Warden of New College, Oxford;[5] Richard

[1] Harl. 433, f 83 b

[2] *Inquis. post mortem*, 3rd May, 3 H. VII. (1488).

[3] *See* on Tropenell wills and tombs below, sec. IV. [4] Pp. 783, 831.

[5] Proctor, 1463: succeeded as Warden of New College September 5th, 1475; died March 30th, 1494, and was buried in the College chapel.

Esmonde, of All Souls' College, Oxford;[1] Edward Hungerford, John Mompesson, Robert Baynard, Esquires; Richard Jay, Thomas Wode, Ralph Tracy, and five others. This document occurs in duplicate, and in each the above list of feoffees occurs four times, and in every case all the names commencing with Master Walter Hill are written over erasures, but apparently by the original scribe. The witnesses to the second document vary. An enumeration is made of the several properties, which it may be interesting to give in substance:—"My manor of Great Chalfield with advowson, with all lands, tenements, rents, reversions, services, liberties, franchises, hereditaments, meadows, woods, pastures, pasture lands (pascuas et pasturas), with the office of Constable of Trowbridge Castle, and all belongings in Chalfield, Lynsford,[2] Holt, Trowbridge, Atworth magna, Atworth parva, *i.e.* Cottles[3] Atworth; also my manor of

[1] A Richard Estmonde was Proctor in 1474, and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford in 1487.

[2] This was, no doubt, the existing Lenton farm. The name is written Lyntonesford, Lyntenesford, and Lyntesford. The ford may have been across the brook mentioned in a deed as the "Chaldeburn"—"super aquam que vocatur Chaldeburn versus Croftam dom: Will: de Percy.' In another deed a croft called "Brodecroft" lies to the east of the "Lyntesford" road and abuts on "Lynton" wood. No date, but witnesses were Sir Robert Cotell, Sir William Percy, Philip de Comerwell, &c. A deed of 1302 speaks of a road leading from Lyntenesford towards Bre[illegible]ctone (Broughton), and another from Lyntesford leading towards West Chalfield. The name occurs in connection with Bowode, Wastellys, Newlond, Wodelye, Smalbonysclos, Cokesmede, and Hangerfield in Chalfield. At Lynsford there appears to have been a house and about 48 acres. Mr. T. Pullen strengthens my conclusion. He tells me they can trace very plainly the lane or track towards Broughton, and also that leading to Little Chalfield, along which there is still a right of way; and the ford was close to the present ancient (Lenton farm) house. The "Chaldeburn," now called Chalfield Brook, worked the old Domesday Mill. There are several fine old oak-trees—one of especial grandeur—in a field abutting on the old ford, which Mr. Pullen believes may well be the remains of "Lynton" wood. Hangerfield and Bowood are still known, and the modern "Coarsemead" may possibly represent the old Cokesmede.

[3] Lands and tenements, with the advowson of the chapel of Little Atworth, were settled on Richard Cotell and Isabel his wife, &c., in 6 Ed. I. (1278), p. 185.

Maiden Bradley"—which appears to have been purchased from Sir Robert Hungerford in 1452—"with all belonging in Maiden Bradley, West Codford, East Codford, and my manors of Chicklade and Hindon, with the advowson of the church of Chicklade; with all my lands, &c., in Chicklade, Hindon, Knolle Episcopi, and Milton; also my manor of East Harnham, with all lands, &c., waters, fisheries, &c., with everything belonging to East Harnham and Homington; also my manor of Durnford parva, &c., and the advowson of the church of Great Cheverell, &c., lands, &c., in New Sarum, Old Sarum, Fisherton Anger,[1] Stratford within the parish of Corsham, Neston, Corsham, Corshamland, with the chapel of St. John[2] the Baptist and the close adjacent in le Rigge (the Ridge) in Corshamland, Chippenham, Pewsham, Alington, Langdene, Castle Combe, Lockeridge and Tolland, in the co. Wilts; and all lands, &c., in Burton, Harsegge (Hassage), Wellow, Littleton, Woodcote, and Tollard, in the counties of Somerset and Dorset." The return at the Inquisition taken at his death is substantially the same as the above.

Of Tropenell's four children,[3] Humphrey and Anne predeceased their father, who left to Mary, "unum lectum album," one white bed with everything belonging to it; while to Christopher, his son and heir, he gave the residue.

XIII. Christopher Tropenell succeeded his father. His name occurs in a deed[4] with his father, 5 Ed. IV. (1465). In 1490 he presented to Great Cheverell by concession of presentation in perpetuity made to his father in 1476 by

[1] Ego Ricardus filius Henrici Ancheri dedi . . . Augustino le corvesire unam placeam terre in marisco de Fysherton." No date, (p. 217). The name becomes Aunger on its way to the modern form (p 449).

[2] This chapel was adjacent to the principal messuage there, called le Eyres (pp. 18, 19).

[3] Above, p. 204.

[4] Pp. 708, 709. It is a most singular circumstance that in the Inquisition after his father's death Christopher, his son and heir, is stated to have been 25 years old and more, when he must have been nearly double that age.

Margaret Lady Hungerford.[1] In 1496 (12 H. VII.) we find him the first of four commissioners for the county of Wilts, under the Act for subsidy granted to the King that year.[2] In 1501 (16 H. VII.) he confirmed to Sir Walter Hungerford, John Ludlow, Leonard Chafyn, &c., the manor of Maiden Bradley, &c., to hold to the uses of his will.[3] He married Anne, daughter of Nicholas and Margaret Carewe.[4] His death occurred soon after September 29th, 1503; and by his will (1501), after bequests to his wife Anne, he speaks of his children, and gives the residue "to him that shall be mine heir of my body lawfully begotten, if he be of good rule and disposition, or else not." He leaves to Sir Walter Hungerford his armour, beseeching him to be "a special good master in right unto my wife, my children, and mine executors." The will, which is of some interest, was evidently made when his children were quite young. His wife, who died in 1517, speaks in her will, dated in 1514, of the wardship and non-age of Thomas Tropenell, her son, and heir to Christopher her husband. Her executors were desired to see that her daughter Margaret be married according to the will of her late husband. She mentions her daughter Elizabeth, who was married to William Hall of Bradford (son of Thomas Hall, who was outlawed in 1502), and had already three children (named); and she gives us the date of her husband's death by referring to a book of accounts passed at Michaelmas next before that event in 19 H. VII. (1503). Christopher and Anne both lie buried at Corsham.[5]

XIV. Thomas Tropenell succeeded his father, Christopher. He presents to Great Chalfield in 1518. In 11 H. VIII. (1519) we find Sir Edward Hungerford, Philip Baynard, and John Ernley doing homage for the various manors, advowsons, &c., of the Tropenell property, the manor and church of Great Chalfield, the Constableship of Trowbridge

[1] P. 867. [2] Rot. Parl., vi. 518.

[3] Hoare's *Wilts*, Maiden Bradley, p. 112.

[4] *See* below, sec. iv. [5] *See* below, sec. IV.

Castle, &c.[1] He married Eleanor, daughter of the Sir Thomas Englefield who died in 1512.[2] In 15 H. VIII. (1523) the property was granted to Thomas Englefield, William Gale, and others, to the uses of Tropenell and his wife Eleanor, and his heirs for ever.[3] He presented to Great Chalfield in 1525, while a John Tropenell—possibly a son of John (Ive) Tropenell, who may have acquired the presentation for that turn — presents in 1526. Thomas presented again in 1528, and to Cheverell Magna in 1529, and finally to Great Chalfield in 1535. This Thomas was also called Giles, as we infer from Harl. 1165 (f. 5) under "Young," where we are told that "Egidius Tropenell" (married) "da. of Engfield."[4] In his very short will, which, "sick in body and of sound and whole memory," he dated June 26th, 2 Ed. VI. (1548), he is described as of Sulham, Berks, where he possibly chiefly resided near his wife's family. His will was proved November 4th, same year. He desired to be buried in the chancel of Sulham Church; leaves Eleanor, his wife, sole executrix; charges her with the education and furtherance of their children, and gives to his son Giles his crossbow, &c. His widow, Eleanor, in her will dated March 20th, 1555—proved September 14th, 1556—mentions her daughters Anne and Besse, Eleanor Blackman and Mary Young, giving her residue to John Young and William Charde, her sons-in-law, whom she makes her executors.

The above Giles, who obtained his father's crossbow, and who "died young,"[5] may have been the "heir male" whose death gave rise to the family tradition quoted above. At all events at this time the Great Chalfield property, with

[1] Addit 6363 (originalia), p. 175.

[2] Harl. Soc., xii. 123.

[3] *Wilts Archaelog. Mag.*, x. 265, from Addit, 5140.

[4] *See* also Hoare's *Maiden Bradley*, p. 112, and *Hund. of Ameshury* (ped of Young), p. 125.

[5] Pedigree of Thos. Englefield, College of Arms, quoted (but in a mistaken argument) Walker's *Great Chalfield*, p. 29.

Monks, &c., now passed to Anne, the eldest of the four daughters, who was married to John Eyre, Esq., of Wedhampton, while other of the estates went to Mary, the wife of John, son and heir to John Young, of Harnam, Wilts. We are alone concerned with the Eyres.

XV. John Eyre, of Wedhampton, also called of Chawvile (Chalfield), Esq., had issue by his first wife Anne Tropenell, one son, William (of whom next), and six daughters, Mary, Susan, Alice, Ann, Elizabeth and Margaret, whom we cannot follow. He and his wife Anna present to Great Chalfield in 1555. He was M.P. for Wilts in 1562-3. His will, "made by word of mouth," is dated September 20th, 1581, and was proved November 6th, same year. He mentions Elizabeth his wife—who must have been his second,—his daughters and their children, and leaves William his heir and executor.

XVI. William, afterwards Sir William Eyre, came into the property in 1581, and subsequently sold the Monks estate to the Danvers family,[1] whose posterity were enjoying it in 1695. He was baptized at Great Chalfield in 1555; High Sheriff for Wilts, 1591; M.P. for Wilts, 1597. He married, firstly, Ann Baynton, daughter of Sir Edward Baynton, and sister to Sir Henry Baynton., of Bromham, Wilts, by whom he had issue three sons and two daughters, all baptized at Great Chalfield. The sons were: John (of whom next); Edward, who died unmarried; and William, afterwards Sir William, who inherited Neston. This latter had two sons, William and Edward. William succeeded his father in the Neston property in 1663, and died *before* 1688. He was succeeded by his son William, who entered the Middle Temple in 1688, and died without issue in 1693, leaving his sister, Jane Eyre, his heiress. She married

[1] Note on flyleaf of MS., p. 44

[2] Will of Sir William, proved July 7th, 1663. His son William has the residue, and is sole executor, and his grandchild Anne has £500. He does not name any other of his family, and makes no mention of his landed property.

[3] Hoare's *Wilts*, V. ii. 56.

Sir John Hanham,[1] of Wimborne, Dorset, Bart. (of whom below).

Sir William Eyre, of Great Chalfield, after the death of his first wife, buried at Great Chalfield, June 19th, 1587, married, secondly, Elizabeth, daughter of Alderman Jackman, by whom he had issue two sons and three daughters—Robert and Henry, Ann, Lucy, and Olive. To the elder son, Robert, he left Little Chalfield (*see* below), which was afterwards sold to Sir Edward Baynton, who left it to his younger son, Thomas Baynton. Henry Eyre inherited Weddington (Wedhampton). Of his three daughters, Ann married John, eldest son of Sir Walter Long, of Draycot, Bart.; Lucy married William Stafford, of Marlwood, Gloucester; Olive died unmarried.[2] Sir William was predeceased by his second wife, who was buried at Great Chalfield, March 26th, 1622. He now married, thirdly,[3] Ann, widow of William Noyes, Esq., and sister to Edward Earnley, Esq., of Kingston, Wilts. She had assured to her by indenture and fine of June, 1626, the enjoyment of the manor of Great Chalfield and other properties for life, on the decease of Sir William. This event occurred August 24th, 1629; he was buried at Great Chalfield, August 30th. His widow continued to reside at Great Chalfield, but she may not have survived long, and at her death the whole property went to Sir John Eyre, the son and heir to Sir William.

XVII. John, afterwards Sir John Eyre, of Great Chalfield, was baptized there August 26th, 1580; M.P. for Calne 1625, and for Chippenham 1628. He married Dorothy, daughter of — Bowstred, and succeeded to the Great Chalfield property on the death of Ann Lady Eyre; but, having "no issue, sold Great Chalfield, which after several alienations is

[1] Not Sir *William*, as Hoare states; *see* Hutchins' *Dorset*, iii. 231; also Tropenell MS. flyleaf, p. 978.

[2] Tropenell MS., *ibid.*

[3] *Inquis. p. mortem* (7 Car I).

now [1695] the property of Mr. John Hall, of Bradford."[1] His will was dated July 18th, and proved August 26th, 1639.[2]

XVIII. We find the property now in possession of Richard Gurney, or Gurnard. He was the son of Bryon Gurney, or Gurnard, born in 1577, and descended from the Gurneys of Kendal.[3] He was of the Clothworkers' Company, and became knight and baronet, receiving his letters patent while Sheriff of London in 1633 (July 26th, 9 Car. I.); he became Lord Mayor[4] in 1642 (18 Car. I.), but was discharged from his office by Parliament and committed to the Tower, where he remained a prisoner till his death in 1647. In 1638 the manor is described, as heretofore, as a whole knight's fee annexed to the Duchy of Lancaster, consisting of a thousand acres of land in Chalfield, Holt, and Lynsford, and carrying with it the Constableship of Trowbridge Castle; it is returned as then held by "Richard Gurnard and the heir of Sir William Eyre."[5] It appears that during the tenure of the loyal Sir Richard Gurney his manor-house was occupied and garrisoned by the Parliamentary troops, and certainly had endured a siege; but unfortunately no details are at present forthcoming. We find, however, a letter written by Sir William Waller from Salisbury, April 9th, 1645, asking for money and supplies, in which he enclosed one he had received from the committee sitting at Chalfield House announcing that Prince Rupert and Prince Maurice were at Marshfield. A statement also occurs by Sir Richard Gurney, estimating his loss as at least £2,000 by injury done to his house of Great Chalfield and cutting down his woods; while Robert Eyre (who had compounded for delinquency

[1] MS. flyleaf, p. 978.

[2] He seems to have been in poor circumstances. Besides his household stuff, his property was £250 in his iron chest in London He left to his brother, Robert Eyre, his gilt bowl and cover, and 5s. to his wife, Dorothy Eyre.

[3] Records of House of Gurney, p. 533.

[4] For good account of his reception of King and Queen in the city, *see* Seymour's *Survey*, vol. ii., pp. 251—257.

[5] *Wilts Knights' Fees* (Lancaster), quoted by Walker, p. 30.

in October, 1646),[1] son of Sir William, the owner of Little Chalfield (see above), complains, in a petition dated in 1648, that he had suffered greatly by the proximity of his house to the garrison which held Great Chalfield, especially when the latter was besieged.[2] But, as we have seen above, the lawful owner of the property was in the Tower, where he died with his fortune wrecked before the cause for which he had suffered was utterly lost. His son and heir-apparent in 1634 was Richard Gurney, but his name does not appear in the troubles. Sir Richard left two daughters—Elizabeth, married to Sir John Pettus, of Suffolk; and Anne, wife of Thomas Lord Richardson, of Cramont. Some few notices occur of proceedings as to Gurney's affairs, out of which his daughters got small consolation. In September, 1650, we find them pleading in reference to a claim of £5,000 from the Parliament that their father had really been freed from sequestration in November, 1646; that he had died unsequestered for delinquency; that Parliament had had £7,500 of his estate, besides Gurney House and his house in Wilts which was made a garrison; that he had suffered five years' imprisonment, dying in prison; that his estate had been so much encumbered that lands had been sold to pay off £26,000 debt, and £2,000 had been paid by the executrixes from their own estate. Nevertheless, they were ordered to pay the £5,000.[3]

XIX. Some few years later, if not before 1660, William Hanham, of Dean's Court, Wimborne, Esq., created a baronet May 24th, 1667, owned the manor.[4] He married

[1] Cal. State Papers, October 10th, 1646.

[2] Mr. Waylen, in *Wilts Arch. Mag.*, vol. ii., p. 258; Godwin, *Civil War in Hants*, p. 209.

[3] Cal. State Papers (advance of money), 1642-56. *See* October, 1646; October, 1647; March, 1648; July, September, 1650.

[4] It is stated in Hoare's *Wilts*, Frustfield, p. 117, that the Tropenell aisle at Corsham belonged to Sir William Hanham. This may be an error for Sir *John*, as in Hoare's pedigree, and apparently must be so if the aisle went with the Neston property, for the Eyres were at Neston all the time Sir William was at Great Chalfield. But it may be that the aisle rather went with the possessor of Great Chalfield, which would seem the more natural.

Elizabeth, daughter of George Cooper, of Clarendon Park, Wilts, Esq., and, dying in 1671, left his son and heir, John, under age. By his will, dated May 27th that year and proved June 9th, he enjoined his trustees, by the sale of certain manors and lands specified, to discharge all sums of money for which his manor or lordship of Chalfield was engaged; and, being so cleared, he devised his said manor of Chalfield with the advowson of the church, together with his manor, cell, and dissolved priory of East Holme, to his wife, Dame Elilzabeth Hanham, for life. He left her also guardian of their son while under age, and at her death the property was to go to the said John and his heirs. This lady was alive in 1689, for in that year her name occurs among prisoners in custody at the Tower of London, in company with the Earl of Peterborough, Lord Preston, Lord Montgomery, Sir T. Fenwick, Judge Jeffries, &c. She had been detained probably on a charge of Jacobitism, and was removed to the King's Bench in November with some others and admitted to bail, and finally was discharged.[1] But clearly the property had changed hands, probably under the circumstances detailed below, long before her death.

XX. Sir John Hanham, second baronet, who succeeded his father in the title in 1671, was the next possessor. He was still a minor in 1674, and in that year (25 Car. II.) an Act of Parliament was obtained to enable the trustees under the late Sir William's will[2] to sell lands and pay debts, according to directions, and for the management of the estates of Sir John Hanham during his minority. We do not know the date of Sir John's marriage with Jane Eyre (above, p. 232), nor the date of the sale of the Great Chalfield property, which now took place, or what reference, if any, such sale had to the above arrangement; but the manor had passed to the next owner before 1678. Sir John died, while

[1] Hutchins' *Dorset*, iii., 232. *See* N. and Q. (and reff.), series iii., vol. x., p. 66.

[2] Hutchings, *Dorset*, *ibid.*

still a young man, in 1703, and Jane Lady Hanham, who had inherited Neston[1] in 1693, died in 1707, leaving a high and beautiful reputation behind her as wife and mother, friend and neighbour.[2]

XXI. The manor was now, by purchase from the last proprietor, in the hands of John Hall, of Bradford-on-Avon, Esq., son of Sir Thomas Hall, who married Catherine Seymour, and fifth in direct descent from the William Hall who married Elizabeth, daughter of Christopher Tropenell. He was an active magistrate in his town and neighbourhood, and builder of the almshouses at Bradford, which he also endowed; Sheriff of the county in 1670. He married Elizabeth, second daughter of Sir Thomas Thynne, of Longleat, and added largely to his property by the purchase of various estates in his neighbourhood, Great Chalfield being one. He presented to the benefice in 1678, and again in 1689 and 1707; he also gave the communion plate now in use, consisting of chalice, paten, and almsdish.[3] He died a widower before May 16th, 1711, leaving his estates to Rachel Baynton, of Little Chalfield, the arrangements for whose marriage with Lord Kingston (*see* next owner) were not completed when Hall died. By his will dated September 10th, 1708, with codicil February 7th, 1710, and proved September 5th, 1711, he left Rachel under the guardianship of his trustees and executors—Denzil Onslow, Edward Lisle, Francis Goddard, and Robert—

[1] Tropenell MS. flyleaf, p. 978.

[2] Hutchins' *Dorset, ibid.*

[3] *Chalfield Magna.*—No plate is entered for "Chawfilde Magna" in the returns for 1553, only two bells. The present service was given in the latter half of the 17th century. It consists of a chalice, 8in. in height, with its paten cover; this vessel is quite plain without knot on the stem, and has a spreading base. The paten measures 9in. in diameter, and rests on a foot, on which is engraved the sacred monogram. The hall-marks are for 1680, the maker's being R L with a fleur-de-lys beneath, enclosed within a heart-shaped shield. Both pieces are inscribed "Deo et ecclesiæ," surmounted by a shield of arms with elaborate mantling—*Three palaces*, for Hall, impaling, *Barry of ten* for Thynne.—*The Church Plate of the County of Wilts*, by J. E. Nightingale, F.S.A., 1891.

afterwards Sir Robert—Eyre, to whom also he gave all his property, in trust for "Rachel Bayntun, daughter of Thomas Bayntun, of Little Chalfield, Esq., and of his now wife," till her death or marriage. Her husband, not being a peer of the realm or a peer's eldest son, was to take the surname of Hall. His trustees were to have the custody and education of the said Rachel till her marriage or coming of age, and she was not to marry without their consent. A mystery seems to have been attaching to her parentage.[1] She was baptized at Great Chalfield, April 14th, 1695, as the "daughter of Thomas and Elizabeth Baynton," and in such case was, in point of fact, Hall's connection through his wife, Elizabeth Thynne, whose sister, Stuart Thynne, had been married to Sir Edward Baynton, of Bromham; their second son being Thomas Baynton, of Little Chalfield, the father of Rachel. Nevertheless, suspicions existed.[2] A special Act of Parliament was obtained for the purpose of settling Hall's estates on Lord Kingston and Rachel Baynton, in which no mention is made of any relationship with Hall. The Act was obtained with difficulty, owing to much opposition from the next of kin and otherwise; but the royal assent was given to the Bill May 16th, 1711, a rider being added to the effect that no countenance was given to any articles or supposed articles of agreement made, or pretended to be made, between the Lord Marquis of Dorchester and the late John Hall, concerning the marriage of "the said Mrs. Baynton with the said William Pierrepoint, Esq., commonly called Lord Kingston."[3]

[1] She was said to have been Hall's own daughter by the wife of Thomas Baynton, of Little Chalfield—Mr. Waldron's MS., quoted by Walker, p. 30.

[2] The Peerage of 1717, which fully mentions the death of Lord Kingston, makes no reference to his marriage. Others give his wife's name as simply Rachel; others, giving the name Rachel Baynton, do not venture to say who she was; but Cokayne (1892) describes her as daughter of Thomas Baynton, of Little Charfield, by Elizabeth, daughter of Sir George Willoughby, of Bishopston.

[3] Canon Jones, in *Wilts Arch. Mag.*, v. 360 (*q.v.*)

XXII. Rachel Baynton was 16 years of age when she married William Pierrepoint, Lord Kingston. He was son and heir to Evelyn, fifth Earl of Kingston-upon-Hull, created Marquis of Dorchester December 23rd, 1706, and Duke of Kingston on August 10th, 1715. William was born October 28th, 1692, and died in the lifetime of his father, July 1st, 1713, aged 21. We find Lord Kingston presenting to Great Chalfield in 1711 and again in 1712.

XXIII. The property next passed to his son, Evelyn Pierrepoint, second and last Duke of Kingston, who succeeded his grandfather March 5th, 1726, in the title, which became extinct with his own death, September 23rd, 1773. He presented to Great Chalfield in 1761, and sold the estate in 1770 to the next.

XXIV. Robert Neale, Esq., of Shaw House, who added to and partly rebuilt the church, and was otherwise a benefactor to the parish (*see* below, p. 245, &c.). He died suddenly at Shaw House, July 3rd, 1776.

XXV. On the death of the last, Great Chalfield came to his eldest daughter and co-heir, Grace Elizabeth Neale, who, by special license, was married at Lord Bridport's house, Harley Street, on April 15th, 1795, to Sir Harry Burrard, Bart., of Walhampton, Hants. On this Sir Harry assumed, by sign-manual, the arms and surname of Neale, with a grant of supporters. Sir Harry presented to the living, in 1809, the Rev. Richard Warner, who was already known in the literary world, and who held the incumbency till his death in 1857. Sir A. B. Neale died without issue February 7th, 1840, and was succeeded in the title by his brother.

XXVI. The Rev. Sir George Burrard, who was born in 1769, married, firstly, September 1st, 1804, Elizabeth Anne Coppell, who dying in 1815, he married, secondly, May 1st, 1816, Emma, daughter of Admiral Joseph Bingham. Sir George purchased from Lady Neale, who lived till 1853,[1]

[1] Information from the late Rev. Edward Kingston, Rector of Great Chalfield.

her interest in Great Chalfield. On the death of Sir George Burrard, on May 17th, 1856, the manor became the property of his widow for life, at whose decease it was to be sold and the proceeds given to her children.

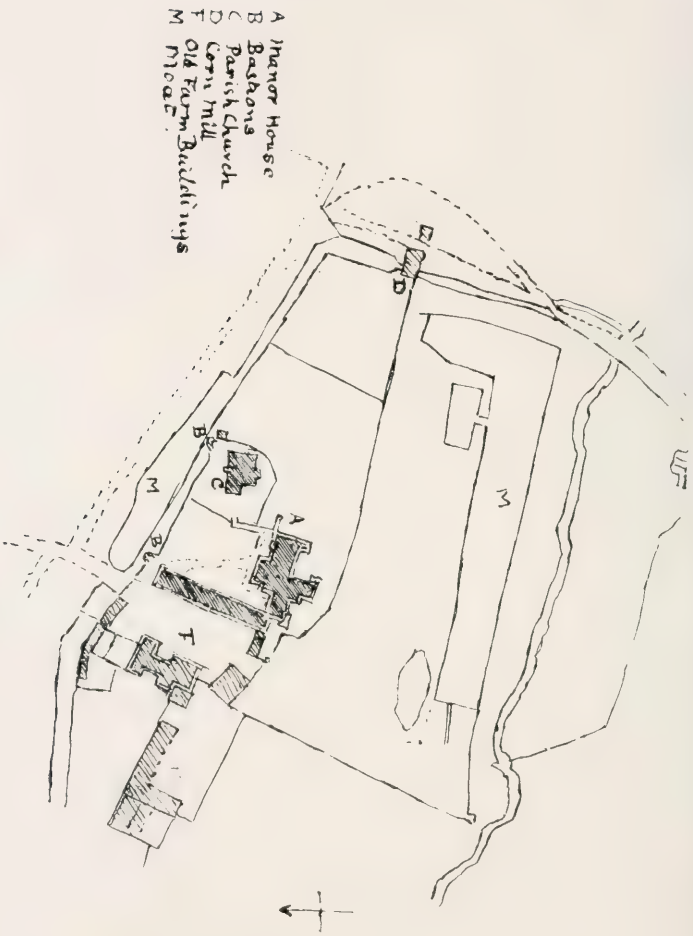
XXVII. Emma Lady Burrard, widow of Sir George, held the manor from 1856. She presented to the living in 1857, and again in 1867 and 1878. Shortly before her death, in 1879, Great Chalfield was sold with the consent of her son and others interested in the property.

XXVIII. And in 1878 the manor passed by purchase to George Pargiter Fuller, Esq., of Neston Park, the present proprietor.

III.

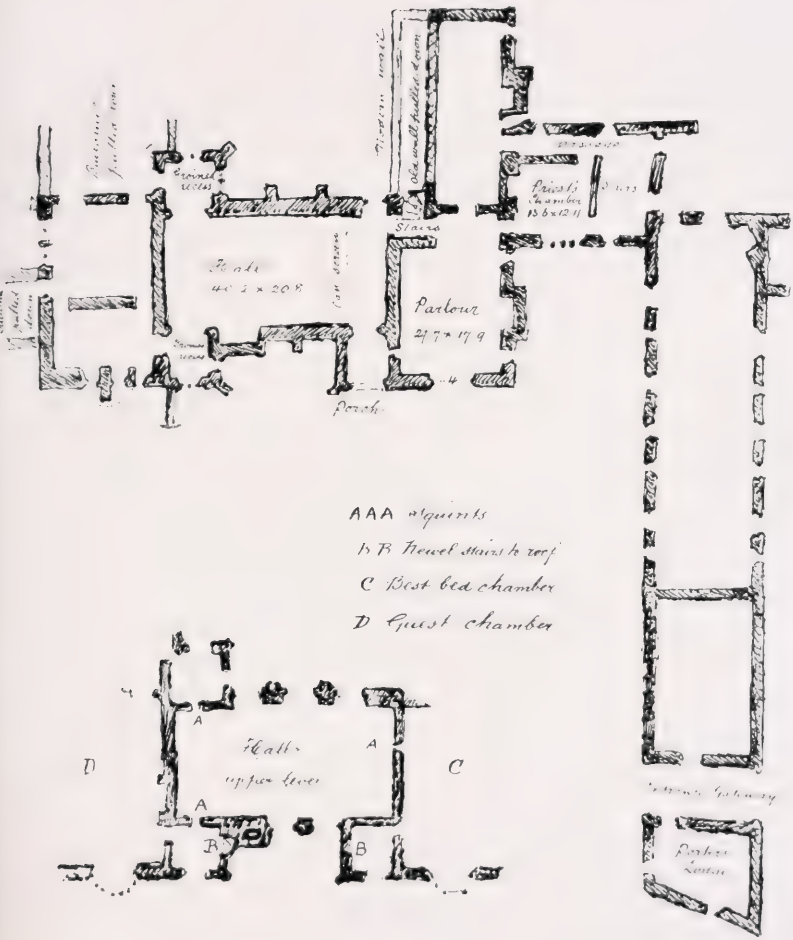
The Manor-house and church stand close together in an ample area, and were protected on the north or front side by a couple of bastions with connecting curtain running east to west, as may still be seen (*see* illustration[1] and plan from Ordnance Survey), which possibly represented the defence of the earlier house. The site was further defended by a moat, which partly still exists. On the eastern side is, or rather was till lately, the corn-mill spoken of in *Domesday*, which has now given place to cottages. The church stands somewhat to the north-east of the main body of the house, and the west wall of its diminutive cemetery, running north and south, touches the moat at its northern extremity, its southern end joining the wall of a small close at the east end of the house. The principal or north front of the house forms the narrower and south side of a parallelogram, of which the churchyard and close wall just spoken of form the eastern side; while opposite, from the western angle of the house, a substantial range of buildings containing stables

[1] The illustration, which is from the *Gent. Mag.*, July, 1834, shows the house as it was before the alterations, with the entrance to the front court through the building to the right. The photograph gives the house as it is at present. The subject is a favourite one, and there is a beautiful picture of the old Manor-house in Elyard's *Old Wiltshire Homes*.



GREAT CHALFIELD, CHURCH AND MANOR HOUSE.

Plan from Ordnance Survey.



GREAT CHALFIELD MANOR HOUSE GROUND PLAN

GREAT CHALFIELD, CHURCH AND MANOR HOUSE, IN 1834

GREAT CHALFIELD, CHURCH AND MANOR HOUSE

Photo. by C. F. Perren, Bath.

and other offices, partly original but chiefly reconstructions possibly of the Eyre occupation, runs at right angles, nearly touching the moat on the north. These limits included the principal or front court, the only entrance to which was by an arched passage (shown on plan and in engraving) through the buildings just mentioned, and towards the north-west of the court. A bridge across the moat led directly into an outer court in which were the farm buildings, the arched entrance to the principal or front court being almost immediately to the left. On the south, or further, side of the whole included space are extensive remains of the moat; two fishponds, also in connection, existed till quite recently (*see* plan).

The chief, or north, elevation of the Manor-house is still very beautiful. The photograph does it scant justice, as in order to include the church the picture is somewhat in profile, and a portion of the house on the west has been cut short. The building is symmetrical, the general plan being a central hall with principal chambers on either side, contained in wings each exhibiting two gables, the outermost or more important gable on each side displaying a handsome oriel; that on the left of the picture, belonging to the now destroyed guest chamber, being of uncommon design. The octagonal oriel of the right wing is surmounted by the Tropenell arms and crest (a griffin), with griffins arranged as supporters. This heraldic device is said by Walker to have been apparently of later date. The numerous gables of the house were, and still partly are, adorned with figures of men-at-arms with swords or other weapons, while the smaller gables were surmounted with griffins, some bearing the Tropenell arms.

The hall of the mansion, about 40 ft. 2 ins. by 20 ft. 2 ins. and 20 ft. high, was entered through a groined porch, the archway of which, flush with the wall, is seen in the picture. Immediately to the left a good open oak screen (figured in Walker's book), now removed, formed a passage through the hall into the open on the south side, and supported a min-

strels' gallery. The hall was lighted on the north by a couple of two-light windows with transoms, and by three similar windows on the south. On the north side, towards the east end, a large fireplace occupied the space of one window, and beyond this (*see* plan) was a somewhat low-groined recess or bay, lighted in front by a two-light window, and having a door on its east side communicating with what was described in 1834[1] as a gloomy vaulted room lighted by four loops, which again opened on a room to the south with a four-light window facing east, and beyond this, southward, were other buildings which had been destroyed. On the south side of the hall was a corresponding groined bay, which also on its east side led into buildings long pulled down. The hall ceiling was nearly flat, or slightly elliptical, divided into eight large compartments by the heavier timbers, each compartment being subdivided into four panels; the framework was throughout ornamented with bosses of larger and smaller size, bearing the arms of Tropenell, Ludlow, Tropenell impaling Ludlow, and the Tropenell badge—the ox-yoke and the motto (le joug) "tyra belement"—*i.e.* (the yoke) "drew well." The word for "yoke" is, however, never expressed, but always represented by the figure, as on the tomb at Corsham. At the west end of the hall, high up over the minstrels' gallery, was a curious squint from the state bedroom, concealed by a perforated mask in the wall of the hall, by which what was going on below could be seen and heard; and a similar peep-hole existed in each of the small chambers, to be described further on, over the groined bays of the hall. One of these squints—that in the west wall—still exists, though turned into a curiously-shaped cupboard, narrowing towards the back; the other two are either destroyed or concealed in modern work.

Continuing on the ground floor, immediately to the west of the hall was the parlour, about 29 ft. 7 ins. by 17 ft. 9 ins., having a squint into the porch. The south-east corner of

[1] *Gent. Mag.*, 1834, (July), p. 36.

the room opened upon a staircase now existing. Opposite to this, at the south-west corner, a door led into what was called the "priest's room," 13 ft. 6 ins. by 12 ft. 11 ins., which had a four-light window in front and two exits—one leading into the open westwards through what Mr. Walker supposed to be space for a staircase; and the other into a passage on the south, running right and left, which led into a long apartment, stretching south, contiguous to the parlour and opening from it (*see* plan).

On the floor above, at the west end, over the parlour was a bedroom of the same dimensions and plan, except that in its north wall it had the oriel window seen on the right-hand of the picture, and in its east wall one of those curious peep-holes into the hall (marked A on the plan) already mentioned. At the north-east corner a small room or closet was entered, having a two-light window in its north wall under the gable to the left of the oriel and over the porch entrance. From this closet a spiral staircase (marked B) in its east wall led to the roof over the hall ceiling, and formed a communication, through a corresponding newel (also marked B) eastward, with the other wing of the house. The rest of the plan of this wing is similar to that of the floor below, and need not be further described.

Passing to the east wing, over the two groined recesses in the hall were two small chambers, each having a squint or peep-hole (A) into the hall, as above described. The chamber to the north-east was 8 ft. 6 ins. by 8 ft. 3 ins. (that on the other side was rather larger), and had in its west wall the newel staircase (B) leading to the roof, as explained above of a corresponding staircase, and communicating with the west wing. Under the gable, in its north wall, is a two-light widow, and on the east an entrance to the guest chamber, 30 ft. by 18 ft. 10 in. This room, now demolished with the exception of its north wall, which still contains the beautiful oriel to be described presently, opened as the room below upon buildings to the south long since pulled down;

and it seems to have had a small building, perhaps a withdrawing-room, abutting on the east side. The fireplace of this room had been encased in a lofty and elaborate work of Elizabethan character; but the chief ornament of the apartment must have been its original and remarkable oriel window. This is a composition, semi-circular in plan with bold projection, supported by an external pier, from each side of which springs a bracketing of fan-tracery resting on two corbel heads, one each side of the pilaster—a male and a female. The elevation of the window is in nine principal bays or compartments in three tiers, formed by perpendicular mullions cut by transoms, each compartment being subdivided into two lights or panels, the lower range not being pierced. The whole is crowned by a bold and elaborate cornice of foliage. Internally the soffit is of rich fan-tracery with pendants.

Little need be added on the alterations from the original work since 1834. They are more extensive than an outside view of the building would suggest. The object was to construct within the old walls a commodious house. This has been done, and every possible alteration has been made within. The interior of the hall has been converted into rooms on two floors, and most of its features have been destroyed. Some of the vaulting work, however, remains, and the ancient roof is believed to be intact above the bedroom ceilings; in the rest of the house also there are several points of interest remaining. The outside still appears in much of its original beauty, in spite of what has been done. The alteration in the hall windows has been already noticed; and below the oriel, on the right-hand of the picture, immediately underneath the label of the ancient window of the "parlour," the Burrard arms and crests are displayed on three shields—an insertion, no doubt, at the time of the general transformation.

The church, dedicated to All Saints,[1] consisted originally of a nave, 24 ft. 6 ins. by 12 ft. 11 ins., and chancel 16 ft. 7 ins. by 12 ft. 11 ins., still existing in their original proportions. In the latter half of the fifteenth century the Tropenell chapel was added by the builder of the Manor-house, and probably at the same time. The annex or chancel aisle, eastward of the chapel, was added by Robert Neale, Esq., the owner of the property, in 1775, and bears his initials and date over the south doorway. He also rebuilt the chancel at the same time.

The west gable of the nave carries a bell cot of good design, rectangular in plan, with octagonal crocketed turret. The bell[2] has the date 1622, with the royal arms, and the initials "R.P.," those of Roger Purdue, of the celebrated firm of bell-founders[3] at Closworth, Somerset. The west wall is pierced by a three-light Perpendicular window, beneath which is the entrance to the church, covered by a hoodwork or porch of panelled tracery, not uncommon in

[1] This dedication appears in the Bishop's register (*see* below, list of rectors) in 1525, and in the original Parish Register of 1545. This surely is conclusive. At the same time authorities, from Browne Willis (1733) down to Canon Jackson and Miss Arnold-Forster, give the dedication as S. Catherine, and this, which so persistently occurs, has to be accounted for. At first I was inclined to suggest an old confusion with the dedication of Little Chalfield; but as (*see* page 197) the dedication of that church or chapel is now known to have been to St. John the Baptist, the "S. Catherine" remains to be accounted for in relation to Great Chalfield. Mr. A. Story-Maskelyne, of the P.R.O., to whom I am otherwise indebted, is inclined to think either that there was a chapel as well as a church at Great Chalfield, or else a chantry in the church with which the church has changed names. The only building, however, at all suggestive is the Tropenell chapel attached to the church itself. There is no evidence of any chantry having been founded there: still, it must have had a dedication which is now unknown; nor is there anything, I believe, remaining to indicate it. It *may* then have been S. Catherine; but judging from the dedication of Tropenell's chapel at Corsham, which was to B.V.M., one would suspect the chapel at Great Chalfield to have been under the same name.

[2] There appear to have been two bells in 1553. (Walcot's *Inventory of Church Goods* in *Wilts Arch. Mag.*, xiii., p. 356.)

[3] For notices of these, *see* N. and Q., Index 3rd series.

later secular work, carried out boldly from a pilaster on each side of the doorway. In the north wall of the nave towards the east is a single-light, in that of the chancel a two-light window. The east window is of three lights, as is also that of the annex; a small door is constructed in the south wall of the latter.

The Tropenell chapel, measuring about 12 ft. square, was originally shut off from the nave by the stone screen, which now stands beneath the chancel arch, where it was probably placed in 1775. This screen, about 11 ft. wide, including central doorway, 2 ft. 6 in. wide, consists of three bays or panels in two tiers on each side, the upper tier being open. Above the tracery of the open part of the screen is a vine-leaf moulding, upon which are the following five shields or arms, referred to and more fully explained above (pp. 201, 203, 204):—Beginning from the left, we have (1) Tropenell impaling Percy; (2) the same impaling Rous; (3) in the middle Tropenell; (4) the same impaling Ludlow, and (5) impaling Roche. The whole is surmounted by an embattled cornice carrying a bold crest-work of foliage. The roof or ceiling is timber framed and of barrel form in sixteen panels, ornamented at the intersections with shields bearing the arms of Tropenell, Tropenell and Ludlow impaled, and other devices. The eastern wall has been almost entirely removed, and the plate of the roof cut into, by the insertion of the archway into the modern annex. The south wall has a three-light window. The chapel was formerly adorned with wall paintings.

The furniture of the church appears to date from the Neale restoration in 1775, or from a few years earlier (*see* further on). There are, however, in the chancel three good poppyheads of ancient work remaining. At the same period, no doubt, a piscina, probably removed from the chancel when it was rebuilt, was placed, where it is now, in the south wall of the Neale annex. Remains of a piscina cut off also exists in the Tropenell chapel. The font appears

to be of Early English date; it is a massive circular bowl, devoid of ornament, opening out from one thick stem.

From the Register, which commences in 1545, we obtain the following data as to repairs which are all given together on folio 18:—In 1719 the church was "set in good repair;" the roof was new laid, a large buttress set up on the north side, and the body of the church new ceiled. In 1722 the chancel was set in good repair at a cost of £3 5s. 8d.; and again in 1747 at a cost of £4 4s. 8d. In 1765 the floor of the church was raised "one foot eight inches," and new laid, new "forms were set up, and the whole church white limed," and a "canopy" placed over the pulpit. In the same year the chancel was again repaired: viz., the roof new laid and ceiled, the floor raised one foot three inches, and seats painted; cost £15 14s. 1d.

In reference to any provision for the parson or rector, the "copy of a terrier" of the emoluments of the parsonage supplied from the Salisbury Episcopal Register to the Rev. Richard Warner, then rector, is of interest; it exhibits the singular carelessness of the earlier incumbents in not looking after their property. The terrier[1] is dated 1674. "First, we returnè that there is noo house or outhouses within our pish of Chaldfield magna, that belongeth to the Parsonage, save only one chamber in the Mannor-house, which is commonly called the minister's chamber. But antient men have reported, that they have heard from other antient men that were before them, that said that there was a Parsonage-House, which stood on a ground near the Mannor-House called Parsonage Close als Pen Close.

"Alsoe, We returne, that, uppon the Report of Antiant Men, long since dead, there have ben Glebe Lands belonging to the Parsonage of Chaldfield Magna. But that any of this Incumbant's predecessr, for many ages past, did ever possess or enjoy them, we never heard, neither is there any Terrier to be found thereof, albeit diligent search have ben

[1] Walker's *Great Chalfield*, p 35; *Gent. Mag.*, 1838 (March), p. 252

made in the Courts at London and elsewhere by the incumbent.

"Also, We have heard that one Mr. Bradshaw, who was Parson of our said pish before the Present Incumbent, had his dyett, the keeping of a horse, and Sixteen Pounds p Annum, of the owners of the said Mannor of Chaldfield magna, in Lieu of his Tythes, due out of the said Mannor, for the space of forty years, and that the p^rsent Incumbent hath had, for the space of forty yeares, a composition of two and thirty Pounds yearly, paid him by the owners of the said Mannor in Lieu of his Tythes, and the keeping of a Horse and besides exempted and discharged from all taxes and payments whatsoever (except the Tenthes payable to the King's Ma^ty, and procroacons to the Lord Bishop).

"Alsoe, the p^rsent Incumbent hath the Tythes of a Farme called Moxham's Farme, lying within the said pish, worth to him five Pounds ℔ annum, and the Tyth of a Ground lying within the same pish, called Bowood, worth ten shillings ℔ annum.

"Alsoe, the present Incumbent hath received forty shillings by the yeare from the owners of West Chaldfield, which do usually come to his church.

"JOHN WILTON, Rector.
"CHRISTOPHER MOXHAM."

"Magna Chalfield.—There is now only paid from the tenant of John Hall, Esq., whose name is John Sartain, the sum annually of thirty-two Pounds. Of Christopher Moxham is received annually, four Pounds. Witness o^r Hands, May 21, 1705.

"JOHN DEACON, Rector.
"CHRISTOPHER MOXHAM, Churchwarden."

From the same source we have a terrier of the emoluments of the Rectory, dated July 14, 1783, and signed Clement Glynn, Rector; James Fricker, Churchwarden; from which

we learn, in addition to there being no parsonage house or glebe, that the then present incumbent received a composition of £50 per annun in lieu of tithe from the manor; that he received £3 10s. in lieu of great and small tithe from certain lands in the parish belonging to John Blagden, of Gray's Inn, and in occupation of farmer John Reynolds; that he had tithe of hay, wool, and lamb, for lands belonging to James Moxham, of London, sugar refiner; that he had 19s. per annum in lieu of tithe from Bowood field; and that the rectory had been augmented by £400, namely, £200 from the governors of Queen Anne's Bounty, and £200 benefaction of the late Robert Neale, of Corsham, Esq., the interest being £8 per annum.

IV.

Thomas Tropenell, the builder of the Manor-house, lies buried at Corsham Church with Margaret his second wife, second daughter of William Ludlow, of Hill Deverell, under an altar-tomb within the Chapel of the Blessed Virgin Mary, at the east end of the north aisle of the church—formerly called the Tropenell, and subsequently the Hanham, but now the Fuller Chapel. This was provided for in his lifetime. By will dated November 5th, 1487, and proved at Lambeth on February 16th following, administration being granted to his son Christopher, he desired that his body should be buried at Corsham in the tomb made for himself and his wife Margaret, who, as we know otherwise, had predeceased him. He leaves to the chapel a set of red velvet vestments with the S in gold, and with his own arms embroidered on them (unum par rubrorum vestimentorum de rubro velewet cum le S. deaurat. et armis meis impositis). He leaves also a Pax of silver gilt, a pair of cruets, and two candelabra of the same material: also a missal covered with red chyverell (kid), a Portifory, and a silver chalice. Also two other sets of vestments with his arms on them, for the greater and minor festivals. Also two suits of silk altar-cloths (duas

sectas pannorum de serico pro altari). He then leaves a a couple of oxen and a couple of cows in perpetuity towards the support of the chapel. And provides for one priest to celebrate in the chapel as long as the bones of Margaret and of himself should be there, and charges his manors with the stipend of £6 13s. 4d. annually for the same: the priest being directed especially to pray for the souls of Thomas Tropenell and Margaret his wife, for the souls of Walter and Robert, late Lords Hungerford, and for Margaret, late Lady Hungerford and Botreaux, and for Sir Thomas Hungerford, Knt. He also provided for masses elsewhere: but makes no mention of the parish church of Great Chalfield. It is more than probable that Tropenall built[1] the chapel, under the arch of which on the south side, dividing it from the chancel, his wife and he lie buried. The tomb is of large size, measuring about 9 ft. long by 4 ft. 9 ins. in breadth, and the same in height. It is of good panel and tracery work,[2] bearing on each of its long sides three shields, displaying Tropenell, Tropenell impaling Ludlow, and Ludlow; at each end are the Tropenell and Ludlow shields. In a moulding carried on every side above the panel-work, the badge of the family—the ox-yoke and the motto "tyra belement" (as at Great Chalfield)—are, or rather were, constantly and alternately repeated between pateræ. How long they have disappeared we cannot say, but the ox-yoke and motto are gone. Children or idle persons had no doubt defaced the tomb, as they are doing now, and repeated washings and scrapings have cleaned off every vestige of the original legend, which may have been only painted. Above this, along the cornice, the following prayer is repeated, the ox-yoke marking the beginning and end of the sentence each time—and the inscription is still to be made out, when otherwise known, owing to the letters having been incised and

[1] See extract from will (below, p. 251). The arms of Tropenell and of Ludlow (originals) have been inserted on the right-hand side of the east window of this (restored) chapel.

[2] Figured in Walker's *Great Chalfield*.

filled in with some hard material—"Jesus Christus Nazarenus filius David filius Marie Virginis salvet nos."

At the north-east corner of the same chantry is the only other tomb of the Tropenells, and its identification has not, I believe, hitherto been established. It is that of Christopher (son of the above) and of his wife Anne, second daughter of Nicholas Carewe and Margaret his wife. This Margaret was daughter of Edward Langford, and formerly wife of John (?) Carant, and after the death of Carewe, of John (?) Twynyhoo. This lady, after her triple experience of matrimony, retired from the world as a religious of the Cistercian nunnery of Tarant, Dorset; and in her will, bearing date July 21st, 1500, and proved March 4th, 1501, after arranging for her own burial at the Grey Friars, Reading, near the tomb which she made there over her father and mother, and providing masses, etc., for all her husbands, makes mention of Nicholas Carewe, her son, and of Ann Tropenell, her daughter, to whom she bequeaths "my coler of goold with panyers and flowers, my grettest herneys of goold, and my next best primer."

The arms of Carewe are: "Or, three lions passant in pale, sable, armed and langued, gules"; and these are to be seen on the tomb, which may be thus shortly described. It is of smaller size than that of Thomas Tropenell, about 6 ft. long, but of the same character, and being in the angle of the building only two sides are visible. On the south or long side are three shields, namely: (1) Tropenell, (2) Tropenell impaling Carewe, (3) Carewe. At the west is the shield of Carewe alone.

The identification of the tomb is further established from the following wills:—Christopher Tropenell, of Great Chalfield, etc., whose will is dated March 5th, 16 H. VII. (1501), but which is without probate certificate—he died soon after September 29th, 1503,—directed his body to be buried at Corsham, "in my father's chamber of our Lady in the north side of the chapel forth yenst[1] my father's tomb, in a tomb of marble, if that I die within 24 miles of Corsham, and of none

[1] The spelling is otherwise modernised.

infectious disease." There may be a little uncertainty as to whether he did die within the limits, and was buried here in the first instance. For in the will of "dame" Anne Tropenell, widow, late wife of Christopher Tropenell, Esq., deceased, dated December 19th, 6 H. VIII (1514), and proved October 23rd, 9 H. VIII. (1517), after providing for her own burial, "in the parish church of Corsham in the N. end of the altar in our Lady's chapel wherein the body of Thomas Tropenell father of the said Christopher lieth buried," towards the end she arranged for masses in the church, where the bones of her said husband "be or shall be buried, for his soul, my soul," etc. This clause, as also that giving directions for her own burial, may seem to indicate that the body of Christopher was not at Corsham when she made her will, and to contemplate a removal from some other church. However this may be, we can scarcely doubt that the remains of both Christopher and of dame Anne his widow were deposited under this second tomb.

LIST[1] OF PATRONS AND INCUMBENTS OF GREAT AND LITTLE CHALFIELD.

	CAPELLA VEL ECCLESIA.	PATRONS.	CLERICUS.
	E. de Chaldefeld Magna		Thomas [2]
1308	Capell. Chaldefeld	Walterus de Chaldefeld	Wms. de Cumbe
	Capell. Chaldefeld	Walterus de Chaldefeld	Robertus [2] de Broghton
1316	Capel. Chaldefeld Magna	Rogerus de Percy	Johannes de Mere
1338	Cap. Chaldefeld Magna	Henricus le Percy	Johannes [3] de Chaldfeld Magna
1338	Capel. Chaldefeld Magna	Henricus de Percy, Dominus de Chaldfeld Magna	Henricus de Lodyngton
1341	Capel. Chaldefeld	Henricus Percy	Johannes Pilk
1348	Capel. Est Chaldefeld	Henricus Percy, Miles	Johannes Gore, p. m. Johannis Pilk
1349	E. Chaldefeld Magna	Henricus Percy, Miles	Johannes Pacy, p. r. Johannis Gore
1354	E. Chaldefeld Magna	Henricus de Percy, Miles	Ricardus Trymenet, p. r. Johannis Spacy
1361[4]	E. Chaldfeld Magna	Philippus Fitz-Waryn, Miles	Thomas Alayn (qui resignavit Chaldefeld Parva)
1362	E. Chaldefeld Parva	Prior de Worspryng, ob minor. ætatem Johannis filii Thomæ Perci [5]	Johannes Wilde, p. m. Reginaldi de Berleigh [6]
1388	E. Chaldefeld Parva	Johannes Percy de Chalfeld	Philippus Lye [7], p. r. Johannis Wilde
1404	E. Chaldefeld Magna	Constantia, nuper uxor Henrici de la Ryver	Johannes Mascal [8]

[1] This list down to 1809 (with the exception of the notes and what is put in brackets) is from Sir Thomas Philipps' "Wiltshire Institutions," from the episcopal registers.

[2] Deed undated, but tested by Sir Thomas, rector of Chaldefeld, Walter de Chaldefeld, George de Percy, Sir Robert, rector of Chaldefeld parva, &c. Another deed, happily dated—6 E. II. (1312)—gives as witnesses, Sir Thomas, rector of the church of Chaldefeld, George de Percy, Nicholas Boson, Walter Selyman, &c. Thomas then must have been rector of Great Chalfield before the commencement of the present episcopal register, *i.e.* before 1296; and Robert was the rector of Chalfield parva, whose appointment is given above. Walter de Chaldefeld is frequently spoken of as of West or Little Chaldefeld, and the two appointments of 1308 are doubtless to this latter place. This carries the two churches, especially that of Little Chalfield, further back than was supposed (MS., pp. 456, 457). On Walter de Chaldefeld, see also *Abbrev. Plac.* on a plea out of exchange of lands in 1285 (p. 278). He was probably the son of William de Chaldefeld, mentioned in the *Testa de Nevill*, and the father of Margaret, Lady of Little Chalfield, who married George Pershay or Percy (*see* p. 197). The Little Chalfield property was held under the Prior of Worspring, hence his presentation in 1362 in behalf of John Percy, a minor, who was son of Thomas, and grandson of the John Pershay or Percy who married dame Constance (*see* above, page 208), he being a widower with a son when he married her. The Pedigree of the Percies and Tropenells in Harl. 888.1. is certainly in error in making these Percies or Pershays descendants of Constance.

[3] Held also the chantry of Blessed Mary, Chyverley parva.

[4] Entries in the register are lost from 1354 to 1361.

[5] *See* end of note 2 above.

[6] He must have been instituted in or before 1349 (*see* above, p. 206).

[7] The name of this parson always occurs as Philip Powe (MS., pp. 450—452).

[8] Probably succeeded Alayn or Aleyn, but we do not hear of the latter after 1382 (p. 187).

	CAPELLA VEL ECCLESIA.	PATRONS.	CLERICUS.
1410	E. Est Chaldefelde	Constantia quæ fuit uxor Henrici de la Ryver, militis	Walterns Wylmot, *vice* Johannis Mascal
1411	E. Est Chalvelde	Constantia, relicta H. de la Ryver, militis	Johannes Plebs, p. r. Walteri Wilmot
1411	E. Chaldefeld (Parva)	Johannes Rous [1] de Immere, Armiger	Johannes Wyseman, *vice* Phillipi Lye [2]
1417	E. Chaldefeld Magna	Constantia, relicta Henrici de la Ryver, Militis.	Johannes Plebs, permut. cum Wms. Beckebury.
1419	E. Est Chaldefeld	Constantia, Domina de Est Chaldefeld	Johannes Hillewyke.
1419	E. Est Chaldefeld	Constantia, nuper uxor Henrici de la Ryver	Radulfus Benet, p. m Johannis Illewyk.
1425	E. Est Chaldefeld	Wms. Rous, Armiger	Thos. Broun.
1437	— West Chaldefeld	Johannes Boorne [3]	Ricardus Beauchamp
1445	E. Est Chaldefeld	Episcopus, per laps.	Robertus Benet.
1488	E. Chaldefeld Magna	Episcopus, per laps.	Thomas Langporte.
	E. West Chalfeld	Episcopus, per laps.	Thomas Hedley.
1494	Capel, de West Chaldefeld	Episcopus, per laps.	Ricardus Norton, p. m. Thomas Sqwier
1507	Capel. de Chaldfeld Parva *alias* West Chaldefeld	Johannes Westbury	Edwardus Huggyns, p. r. Ricardi Norton.
1518	E. Chaldefeld Magna *alias* Est Chaldefeld	Thomas Tropenell, Armiger.	Willielmus Haxe, p. m Johannis Rede.
1525	E. Omnium Sanctorum Chaldfeld Magna	Thomas Trapnell, Armiger.	Wms. Haye, permut cum Johanne. Floke.
1526	E. Chaldfeld Magna	Johannes Tropnell, Armiger.	Johannes Jeffrey p. r. Johannis Floke.
1528	E. Chaldfeld Magna	Thomas Tropnell, Armiger.	Gulmi. Robynson, p. r Johannis Jeffreys.
1535	E. Chaldfeld Magna	Thomas Tropnell, Armiger.	Thomas David, p. r Gulms. Robynson.
1537	Capella de Chalfeld Parva [4]	Wms. Button, gen. ex concess. Haivisiæ de Westbury, Vid.	Johannes Thyn, p. m. Edwardi Higgons
1555	E. Chaldfild Magna	Johannes Eyre & Anna uxor ejus	Radulphus Hyll, p. m. Thomæ Davys
1575	E. Chaldfield Magna	Johannes Eyre, Armiger	Johannes ap-Jones, p. r. Edwardi Procter

1 It will be remembered that his illegitimate son, Richard Phillips or Rous (p. 211), married Alice Pershay, lady of Little Chalfield, who afterwards married John Bourne, who next presented.

2 Philip Powe (*see* note above) resigned, and was living in 1426, when he appears in deeds given at Great Chalfield.

3 In right of his marriage with Alice Pershay or Percy (*see* above), daughter of John Percy, who was a minor in 1362, and who presented in 1388.

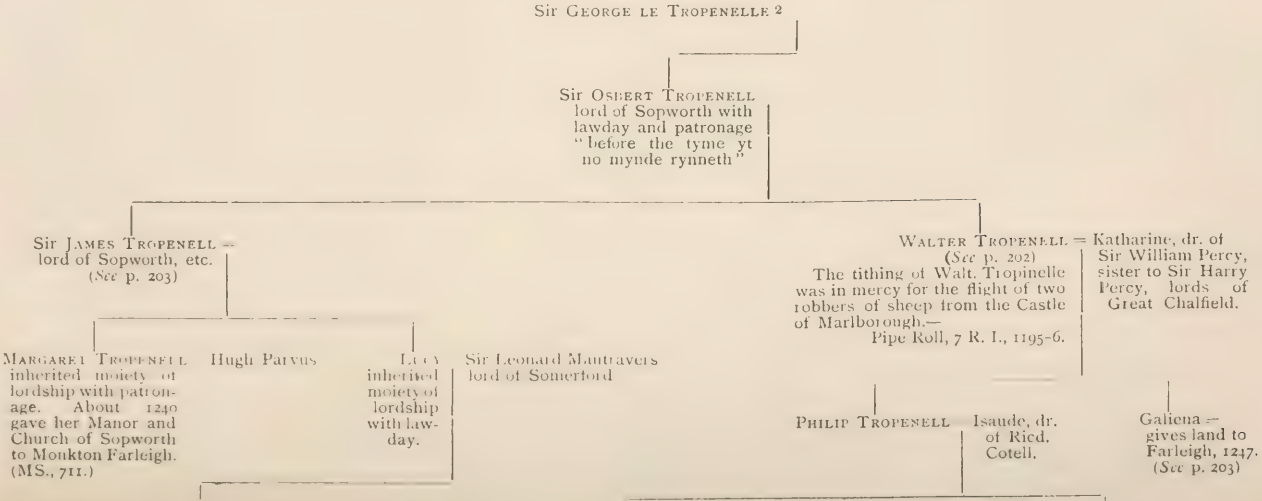
4 From *Wilts N. and Q.*, June, 1900, p. 256 (Calendar of Feet of Fines for Wiltshire), we learn that Thomas Horton and Thomas Bamfyld, *arm.*, with Anna his wife who was d and coheiress of John Savary, *arm.*, joined in disposing of the advowson of the Free chapel of S. Blase in Chalfield in 36 H. VIII. (1544-5). This could be no other than the church or chapel of Little Chalfield, whose dedication in 1348, we saw above (p. 197), was to S. John Baptist. I am quite unable to account for this dedication to S. Blase or Blaise.

	CAPELLA VEL ECCLESIA.	PATRONS.	CLERICUS.
1593	E. Chaldfield Magna	Regina, per lapsum	Nicholaus Lymbye
1598	E. Chaldfield	Wms. Eyre, Miles	Francis Staune
1603	E. Chaldfield Magna	Wms. Eyre, Miles, de Chalfield	Robertus Bradshawe, p. d. Francisi Staune
1629	E. Chalfield Magna	Wms. Eyre, Miles	Johannes Wilton, p. m Roberti Bradshaw
1678	E. Chalfield Magna	Johannes Hall, Armiger	Michael Foulton, p. m — Wilton
1689	E. Chawfield	Johannes Hall, Armiger	Johannes Deacon
1707	E. Chaldfield Magna	Johannes Hall, Armiger	Thomas Weeks, p. m. Johannis Deacon
1711	E. Chalfield Magna	— Comes Kingston	Gulielmus Skammell p. m. Thomæ Weeks
1712	E. Chaldfield Magna	Wms. Comes Kingston	Johannes Lewis, p. r Gulielmi Skamell
1761	E. Great Chalfield	Evelyn, Duke of Kingston	Clement Glyn, p. m John Lewis
1809	E. Chaldfield Magna	Sir Harry Burrard Neale, of Walhampton, co. Hants, Bart.	Richard Warner, p. m. Clement Glyn
1857	E. Great Chalfield	Emma, lady Burrard, widow of Rev. Sir George Barrard, Bart.	George Mullins
1867	E. Great Chalfield	Dowager Lady Burrard	Robert Parker Little
1878	E. Great Chalfield	Dowager Lady Burrard	Edward Kingston
1900	E. Great Chalfield	George Pargiter Fuller, Esq.	Edward Mortimer

TROPENELL OF SOPWORTH, SHERSTON, AND WHADDON.

"Pedegre of the name and blode of Tropenelles," within the Co. of Wilts, "long before the tyme that no mynde renneth, and before the Conquest,[1] unto the makyng of þis boke never chaunged."—MS., p. 711. [Chartulary, commenced 4 Ed. IV., 1464.]

Arms: Gules, a fesse engrailed arg. powdered with ermine, between three griffins' heads of the same erased—*See* Plate No. 2.



Sir JOHN MAUTRAVERS "which had the keeping of Ed. II. till his death," 1327. Gave part of his lands in Sopworth to Monkton Farleigh, keeping in his hands the lawday (p. 711).

ROGER TROPENELL of Whaddon, &c.[3] 1277, 1316 = Christian, dr. of Sir John Rous, lord of Imber, and sister to Ricd. Rous, lord of half Imber; ancestor to Wm. Rous, who possessed Gt. Chalfield (MS., 342).

JOHN TROPENELL of Sherston, &c., 1321–1343

JOHN TROPENELL 1340–1343. = Agnes, dr. of James Lye lord of Landford

"and many more children who died s.p."

JOHN TROPENELL = 1366–1370

HENRY TROPENELL = Editha, dr. of Walter Roche (*See* p. 204)

JOHN TROPENELL = Matilda 1423–1437

[Henry Tropinell (time of H. III) grants shop in Exeter to the Cathedral for anniversary of Adam, late precentor there (Archaeol. XVIII., 404). Who was this?]

1st wife Agnes widow of Thos. Bourton (p. 46) = THOMAS TROPENELL = 2nd wife Margaret widow of John Erley, dr. of William Ludlow of Hill Deverell (p. 204, &c.)

AGNES TROPENELL = Thomas Ive of Sherston

Humphrey Christopher Anne Mary
"all alive atte makyng this boke" (MS., 343).

John Ive, *otherwise* TROPENELL Harry
"alive atte makyng of þis boke" (p. 343).

[1] These four words are added as an afterthought over the line; they can hardly be correct as far as regards the present pedigree.

[2] Father of Sir Osbert with whom the pedigree in the Chartulary commences. We know of Sir George by deed of his son, Sir Osbert, to his younger son, Walter (MS., 714).

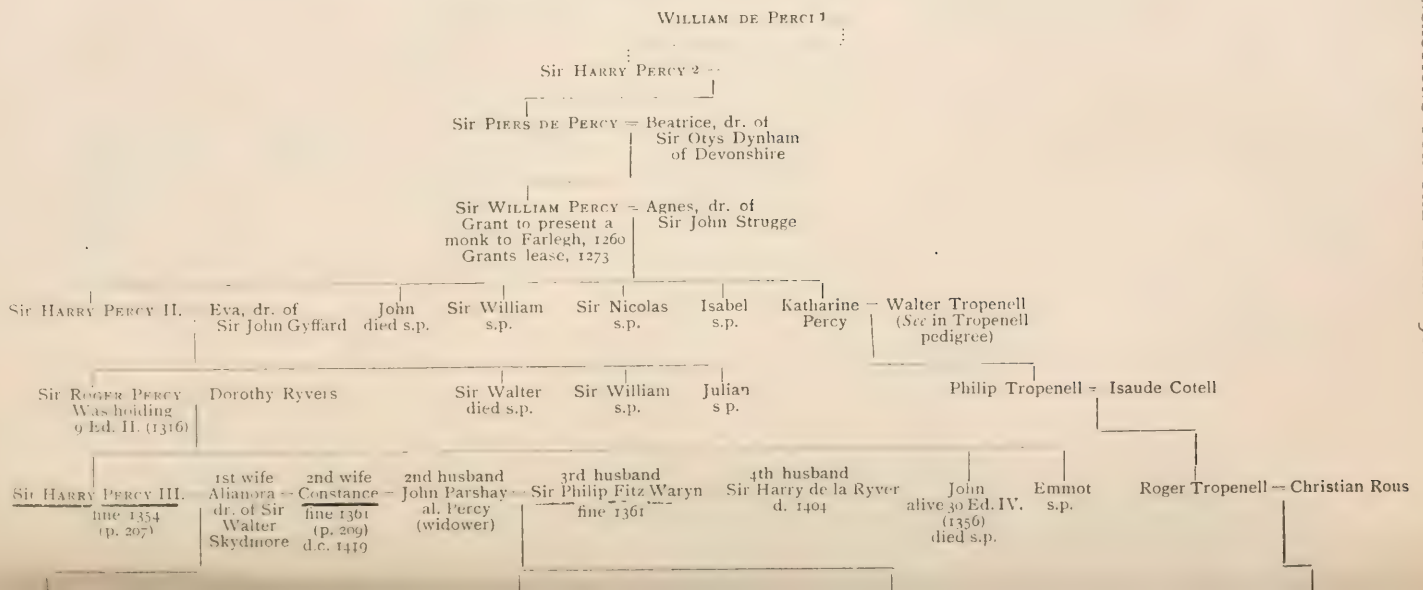
The dates are those of deeds in which the names occur.

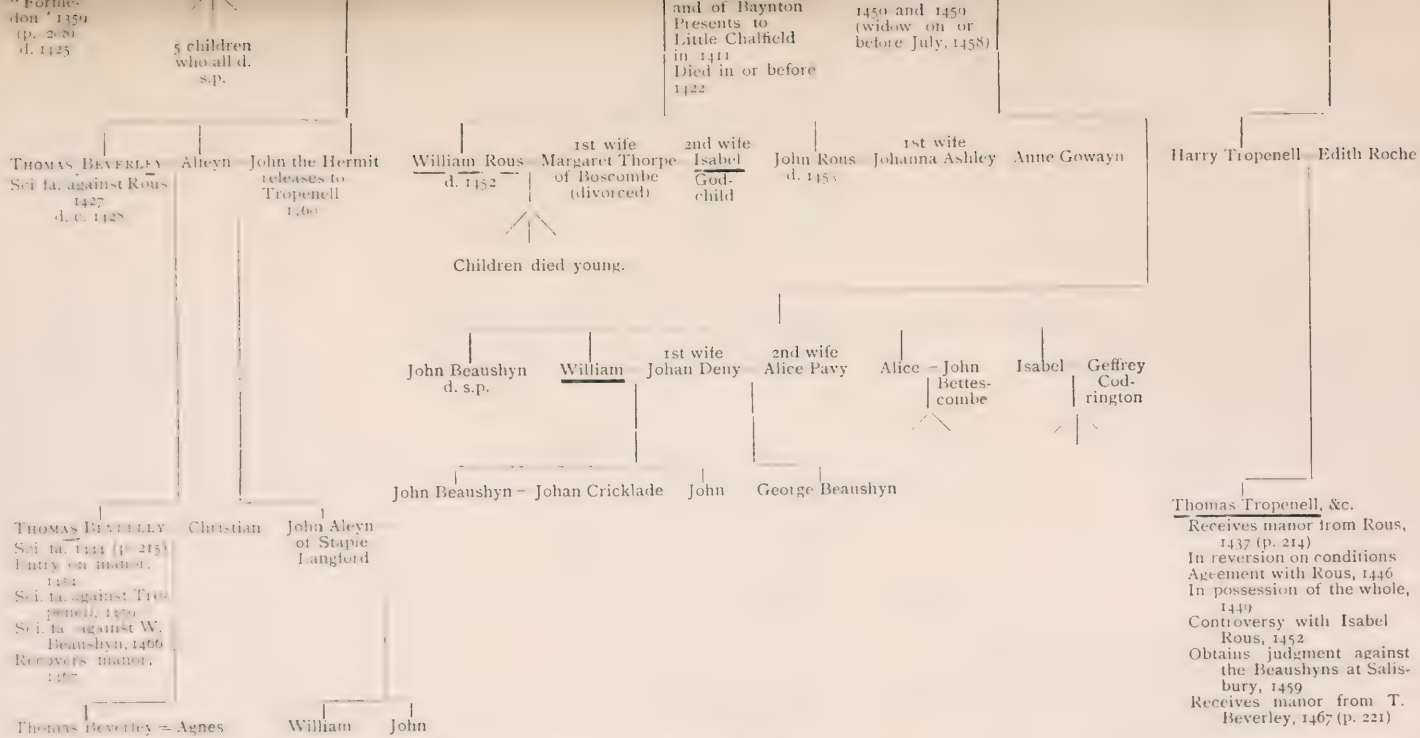
PERCY OF GREAT CHALFIELD,

WITH THE SUCCESSION TO THE ESTATE TO THE TIME OF THOMAS TROPENELL:

Derived from the Tropenell Chartulary, pp. 341 to 365.

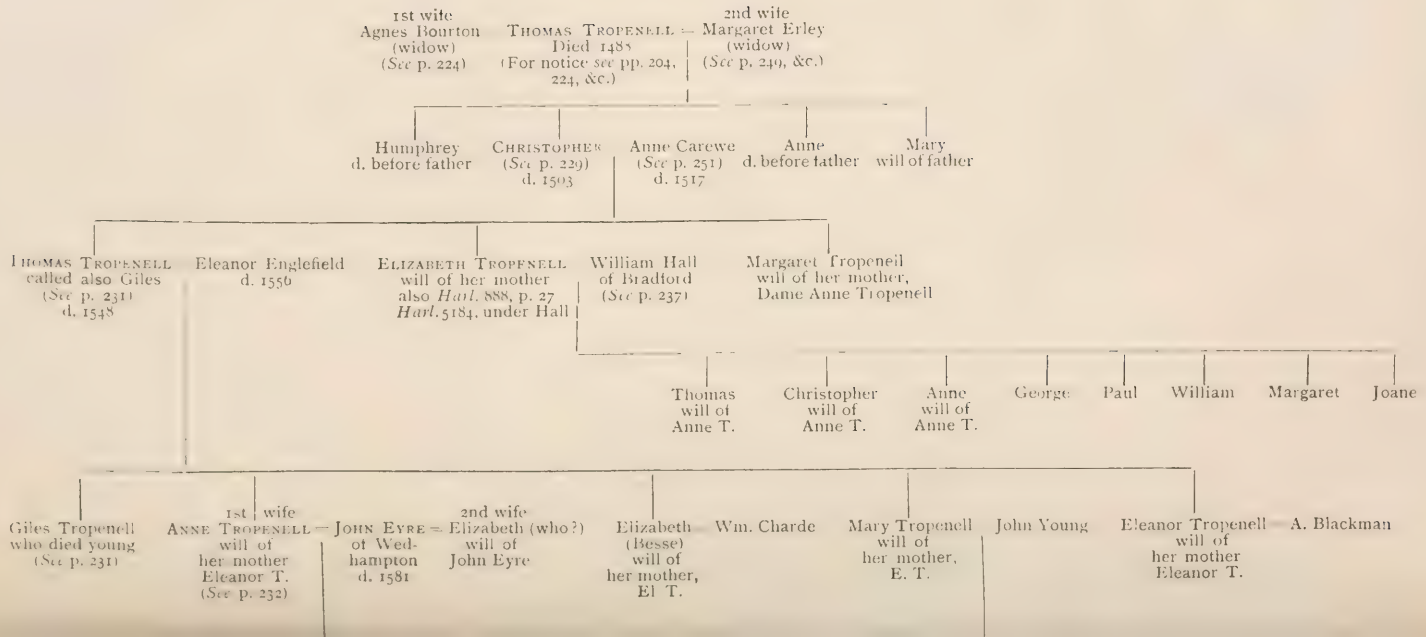
Arms of Percy: "Azure, five fusils conjoined in fess, or."—*See* Plate No. 1.

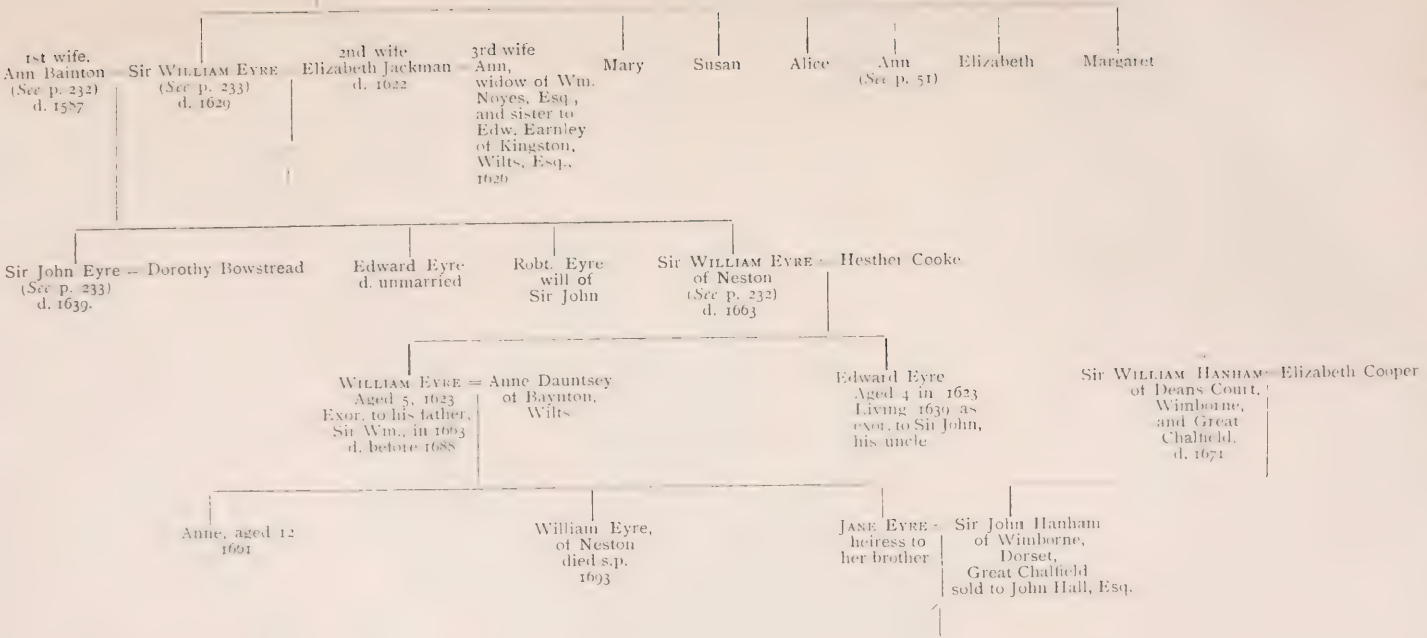




1 Supplied from Rot. Curiæ Regis I., 245 (*See* above, p 201.)
2 The pedigree in the Chartulary commences with this knight.
*** The names underlined are those especially connected with the Great Chalfield litigations (1354—1467).

TROPENELL AND EYRE OF GREAT CHALFIELD




1st wife. Ann Bainton (See p. 232) d. 1587
Sir WILLIAM EYRE (See p. 233) d. 1629
2nd wife Elizabeth Jackman d. 1622
3rd wife Ann, widow of Wm. Noyes, Esq., and sister to Edw. Earnley of Kingston, Wilts, Esq., 1626
Mary
Susan
Alice
Ann (See p. 51)
Elizabeth
Margaret
Sir John Eyre (See p. 233) d. 1639.
Dorothy Bowstread
Edward Eyre d. unmarried
Robt. Eyre will of Sir John
Sir WILLIAM EYRE of Neston (See p. 232) d. 1663
Hesther Cooke
WILLIAM EYRE Aged 5, 1623 Exor. to his father, Sir Wm., in 1663 d. before 1688
Anne Dauntsey of Baynton, Wilts
Edward Eyre Aged 4 in 1623 Living 1630 as exor. to Sir John, his uncle
Sir WILLIAM HANHAM of Deans Court, Wimborne, and Great Chalfield, d. 1671
Elizabeth Cooper
Anne, aged 12 1691
William Eyre, of Neston died s.p. 1693
JANE EYRE heiress to her brother
Sir John Hanham of Wimborne, Dorset, Great Chalfield sold to John Hall, Esq.

BRISTOL ARCHÆOLOGICAL NOTES FOR 1900.

By JOHN E. PRITCHARD, F.S.A.,
Honorary Secretary for Bristol.

"In times past Archæology has already gained much from digging; and in times to come it is doubtless destined to gain yet infinitely more from a systematized use of this mode of research. For the truth is, that beneath the surface of the earth on which we tread—often not above two or three feet below the surface—there undoubtedly lie, in innumerable spots and places—buried, and waiting only for disinterment,—antiquarian relics of the most valuable and important character."

Practical excavating has been the key-note of much Archæological work during the last two years of the 19th century, as if to make amends for past neglect; and I think, on the whole, the period may be looked back upon as an eventful one, for several members of this Society have been engaged upon important diggings on Roman sites at Brislington and Caerwent; and I have had the singular good fortune, in addition, of watching throughout the whole of the twelve months another excavation in the heart of the city, exhibiting work of the Norman and Mediæval periods, which has, also, brought to light traces of *non-historic* times—one of the most important discoveries yet made upon the ancient site of Bristol—whilst other members interested in such investigations, not able to take an active share in practical work itself, have liberally contributed to the funds.

It is to be hoped that systematic work of this kind may be continued in this neighbourhood from time to time, whenever the opportunity occurs;[1] and members must not forget the remarks of Mr. G. B. Witts, the Society's

[1] See *Proceedings of the Clifton Antiquarian Club*, vol. i., pp. 62, 66.

president in 1897, as to the number of Roman villas still unexplored in Gloucestershire.[1]

The first day of the year inaugurated the excavations at the Brislington Roman villa, which was discovered in 1899.[2] Early on that Monday morning, Mr. A. E. Hudd, F.S.A., Mr. A. T. Martin, F.S.A., and myself met upon the site, at the corner of Wick Lane, situated on the main Bath road, about 2½ miles from Bristol Bridge, and, with the labourers we had engaged, commenced the digging. Within an hour we struck our first wall, and from that moment the plan of the buildings developed in a most interesting manner. The work was continued by us, day by day, for several weeks, Mr. Hudd being in almost daily attendance, and then, finding that the excavations would be somewhat extensive, it was necessary to make other arrangements, as we were each of us engaged upon the Caerwent explorations, and it was impossible to give the requisite time and obtain adequate funds for both works at the same time. We therefore approached Mr. W. R. Barker, Chairman of the Bristol Museum Committee, who thoroughly acquiesced in our plan, and, after consultation with his colleagues, undertook to continue the work, to which the Committee had already contributed, on behalf of the city. Mr. Barker will fully describe the excavations and the objects found.

Our thanks are due to Mr. H. T. M. C. Gwynn, the Chairman, and his co-directors of the Bristol and District Land Company, owners of the soil, for the ready permission granted to explore the villa, and for their generosity in presenting all finds to the Bristol Museum.

The demolition of the houses upon the line of the Norman wall of Bristol, in Wellington Street, followed by the necessary excavations for the foundations of the new factory now being erected by Messrs. J. S. Fry and Sons, mentioned in my last annual paper to the Clifton Antiquarian Club,[3] has continued throughout the year.

[1] See *Transactions*, vol. xx., pp. 349, 350.

[2] See *Proceedings of the Clifton Antiquarian Club*, vol. iv., p. 262.

[3] See *Proceedings of the Clifton Antiquarian Club*, vol. iv., pp. 160, 259.

The Norman foundations were discovered intact the whole distance from St. John's slope to the Pithay, and with the exception of a short length—abutting on the Pithay—the entire stretch of walling has been destroyed. In no part was the remaining masonry standing over eight feet in height; but the thickness, which was not consistently regular as in the case of most Roman masonry, was found to average six feet.

Numerous relics of bygone times have been found, during the course of the work, principally without the wall, including many specimens from a veritable 17th century "rubbish-pit," which was cut into at a spot midway between the slopes to which I have referred; and the following description will doubtless be interesting. My thanks are due to Mr. Dowling, Clerk of the Works, for his unvarying courtesy throughout the year.

LIST OF FINDS.

A SKULL was discovered in February beneath the foundations of a 17th century house, which stood close to the outer side of the Norman wall, about 35 feet from the Pithay slope. There were indications that the entire skeleton had lain at this spot; but, unfortunately, the remainder of the bones had almost entirely perished.

I sent this specimen to our member, Dr. John Beddoe, F.R.S., and that eminent craniologist kindly reported as follows:—

Skull found beneath a 17th century house in the Pithay, Bristol, sent to me by Mr. John E. Pritchard, F.S.A.

Lengths—	MM.	*Breadths*—	MM.
Clabello-maximum ...	177	Zygomatic	130
Fronto inial	170	Supra-auricular	114
Clabello-inial	167	Maximum, which is parietal	137
Ophryo maximum ...	174	Mastoid	119
Facial (nasio-alveolar)...	66	*Heights*—	
Breadths—		Basio-bregmatic	124
Fronto-minimum	95	Basio-maximum	129
Stephanic	114		

Arcs—	mm.	*Length*—	mm.
Circumference	512	Basis cranii	101
Longitudinal frontal, 115		Basio-alviolar	97
parietal 125		Nose, 47 and 23; Foramen, 33 and 29	
occipital 72 + 42 114		External orbital breadth, 109; orbits, 35–31; interspace, 26	
——	354		
Transverse	308		
Pre-auricular superciliar	280		

Cranial Index, 77.4; Altitudinal, 70; Alti-lat, 90.5; Nasal, 48.9; Orbital, 88.6; Facial, 50.7.

Male adult, young or middle-aged. Vertical aspect, oval; phœnozygous—lateral aspect, flat and low; posterior aspect, cylindrical; no prognathism; brows and cheekbones prominent: nose probably thin and high; forehead rather low; parietal and supra-occipital regions full and rounded; skull on the whole small, but well-filled. Though dating from the 17th century at latest, it has nothing unmodern in its character, and leans more to an Anglo-Saxon than to a British type.

March 26th, 1900. John Beddoe.

COINS.

Roman Silver Denarius. "Ivlia Maesa (died A.D. 223)."

obv. Ivlia . maesa . avg. Head to *right*.

rev. Fecvnditas.

A woman seated between two children, holding a flower and the hasta.

This was found on January 18th, in the foundations of a house, just within the wall, at a spot about fifty feet from the Pithay slope.

Roman Second Brass. "Maximianus (286–305)."

obv. Maximianvs . nob . caes. Head of Emperor to *right*.

rev. Genio . popvli . romani.

Genius standing with a wreath in right hand and cornucopia in left.

I witnessed the discovery of this piece on July 26th, at a depth of 11 feet below the roadway, at the corner of All Saints' Street and All Saints' Avenue, in blue clay deposit.

These two coins are the only Roman objects discovered in these excavations, and it is difficult to explain how they found their way to this spot, as we have, as yet, no evidence of actual Roman occupation of this ancient site. It is just possible that the coin of Maximianus was dropped in the vicinity during Roman times, when the land surrounding Bristol was a great marsh.

Two green-glazed GROTESQUE FIGURES, representing monsters, which had probably formed the ornament of a mediæval water jug of 13th or 14th century.

A LEAD BULLET, of the Siege of 1643 or 1645, found imbedded in the mortar of a joint in the Norman wall.

A GUINEA WEIGHT of Queen Anne's reign.

Several fragments of blue salt glazed, stoneware mugs, bearing ♚ G.R. (George I).

Numerous Bristol DELFT DRUGGISTS' POTS,[1] white-glazed on red and whitish pastes, in various sizes—1 in. high by 1 in. diameter, $1\frac{1}{8}$ ins. by $1\frac{1}{2}$ ins., 2 ins. by $2\frac{3}{4}$ ins., and $2\frac{1}{8}$ ins. by $1\frac{3}{8}$ ins. Eighteenth century.

Two Bristol DELFT TILES,[1] composed of soft, yellowish clay, part of a set of four. The set-design consisting principally of squares and diamonds, upon a white ground, around a scalloped circle; the colour of pattern is a dull mauve, edged by light blue lines. Eighteenth century.

Two small GLASS PHIALS, 18th and 19th century, quite perfect.

French COLONIAL COIN.

obv. LOVIS . XVI . R . DE . FR . ET . DENAV .

rev. COLONIE . DE . CAYENNE . 2 SOVS . 1782.

FROM THE RUBBISH PIT.

An early 17th century seal-top BRASS SPOON, with hexagonal stem. Maker's mark "G," length $6\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

Bristol circular FARTHING, 1652,[2] with the additional

[1] See Owen (Hugh), *Two Centuries in Ceramic Art in Bristol.*

[2] See *Proceedings of the Clifton Antiquarian Club*, vol. iv., pp. 159, 161, 259, 261.

letters "R.I." struck over the ship on the reverse. A very uncommon type.

Several other farthings of various dates, in worn condition.

Charles II. FARTHINGS, 1673 and 1675 mintages.

CLAY TOBACCO PIPES, bearing the following makers' names and initials on the heel. A valuable addition to those previously recorded[1]:—

IOHN HOWELL	FLOWER HVNT	IOHN HVNT
NATH HOWELL	IEFFRY HVNT	THO HVNT

A "gauntlet." A "rose."

R.B.	F.H.	R.N.
E.C.	I.H.	H.S.
N.C.	F.I.	T.S.
W.C.	R.K.	W.W.
P.E.	T.M.	ESX. (probably Essex).

The Hunts were a Bristol family. I find from the City records that Flower and John were admitted "freemen" in 1651. We therefore get a fairly accurate date of the small barrel-shape pipes made by that family and others in the 17th century.

A fragment of a DELFT POTTERY DISH,[2] 8½ ins. in diameter, with blue and yellow decoration upon a glazed white ground, bearing the following in the centre:—

I. E.

1647.

Numerous fragments of coarse slip-decorated pottery of different designs; one piece bearing a large raised letter **W.**

A yellow glazed PIPKIN.

Fragments of Venetian Glass.

I have chronicled the finds from the "pit" separately, as it is most interesting to notice that the dates of the various specimens corroborate one another.

[1] See *Proceedings of the Clifton Antiquarian Club*, vol. iv., pp. 159, 161, 259, 271.

[2] *See* Hodgkin's *Early English Pottery*, 1891.

On the *east* side of the Pithay slope deep excavating has also been continued at intervals during the year, principally upon the site of the third, fourth, and fifth gabled houses—that is to say, counting from the top in descending, on the right-hand side. An interesting court-yard, or possibly a passage or roadway, formed of pebbles and square pitching, was found beneath the recent level, at the rear of the second house, and outside, though extending under the foundations of the wall of Messrs. Lipton's back premises. Whether it had any connection with the upper Pithay Gateway, or only formed part of the premises of a later house, built close to the city wall, it is hardly possible to decide. At the time of the discovery, Mr. Drake, architect for a new Mission Hall, which may possibly be erected upon this site in the Pithay, took great pains with Mr. Martin and myself to solve the mystery. The stone-work and mortar apparently belonged to the 13th or 14th century.

The excavations at this spot have brought to light some curious and interesting specimens, which deserve careful recording, as the entire site is one of the most fascinating that has been opened up within the area of the ancient city during the century.

LIST OF FINDS.

More fragments of NORMAN and MEDIÆVAL POTTERY,[1] comprising a fine series of handles, lips, rims, body-ornamentation and bases of various vessels.

A deep circular dish of HISPANO-MORESCO[2] POTTERY, decorated with light blue and "copper-lustre" ornamentation upon a cream-colour ground, and terra-cotta paste. Period: 13th or 14th century. The specimen is made up of thirty-one fragments, and there are four other pieces which cannot be joined to it. The dish originally measured 17 ins.

[1] See *Proceedings of the Clifton Antiquarian Club*, vol. iv., pp. 160, 260.

[2] See *Litchfield* (F.) *Pottery and Porcelain*, pp. 9, 10, 166. [This dish has since been presented by Mr. Pritchard to the British Museum.—ED.]

HISPANO-MORESCO DISH
FOUND IN BRISTOL.

in diameter. The fragments were found at a depth of 10 ft. below the cellar level of one of the gabled houses in the Pithay, and I imagine it was originally brought over as a present to a Bristol merchant. I also found fragments of four other Spanish lustre-decorated vessels.

Mediæval Tiles. About fifteen fragments of various encaustic tiles, 13th to 16th centuries, from the old city churches.

A fragment of Green Glazed Pottery, evidently 15th century, bearing the monogram "MF" incised in the paste.

A Bronze Spur, probably 16th century, with octagon-shaped neck, imperfect, no rowel.

A salt-glazed Stone-ware Flask, oval barrel shape; size $4\frac{1}{4}$ ins. long, the oval end measuring $2\frac{3}{4}$ ins. by $1\frac{5}{8}$ ins. This is undoubtedly *Fulham* pottery. At one end on a raised label appears the following name and address in three lines:

Sinclair, Mile End Gate

with a small bung-hole under. This was found 10 ft. below the level of one of the gabled houses.

COINS.

A French Denier, of probably 13th century.

Elizabeth, *Sixpence*, usual type, 1582.

Charles II. de Gonzaga; a *copper coin* struck as Duc de Nevers, A.D. 1614.

James II. gun money, *Shilling*, September, 1689.

And sundry worn English and Spanish silver and copper pieces.

But the most interesting find of all, and one of immense value to local archæologists, occurred on the 25th of April. At a depth of fully 12 ft. beneath the cellar level of one of the gabled houses, that stood below the "Prince of Wales" public-house, in the Pithay, some objects of apparently pre-historic times were discovered. As we have no record of anything being found in Bristol earlier than

the Romano-British period, this find may be considered unique.

The objects discovered were :—

1. A portion of an ANTLER.
2. Two HORNS, or Cores, of Sheep.
3. Several TUSKS.
4. Three small HORN HANDLES.
5. (*a*) A polished bone BORER or NEEDLE, $7\frac{1}{4}$ ins. long.
   (*b*) Another similar, $5\frac{1}{2}$ ins. long.
6. A small HONE, with round hole at end for suspension to the girdle, worn down from use.

I have submitted these to our great authority, Professor W. Boyd Dawkins, F.R.S., F.S.A., etc., to whom my thanks are due for kindly examining and reporting as follows :—

1. The base of an antler belongs to a young red deer (Cervus Elaphus), with marks of chopping, and I think of sawing. These were done with a metal edge, probably of iron or steel.
2. The horn cores of sheep are also cut.
3. The tusks may either belong to domestic hog, or the wild boar.
4. The antler tips, used for handles, are also sawn off by a metal saw, probably of iron.
5. The holes in the two bone needles are drilled with a metal drill.
6. The whetstone, however, has been drilled by the rotation of a spindle used along with sand.

Professor Boyd-Dawkins further says the whole group is very interesting, and may belong, at earliest, to the

PRE-HISTORIC IRON AGE.

These objects were found at the Pithay, on what was undoubtedly the sloping bank of the Peninsula, the ancient site upon which the old City was built, below which flowed the river Frome, and had evidently been deposited there by man of that early period of time.

On the 5th April the site of the 17th century tavern

PREHISTORIC REMAINS FOUND IN THE PITHAY.

known as the "Cat and Wheel,"—historic ground in Castle Green, upon the site of Bristol Castle,—was submitted to public competition and sold. On the 23rd July the destruction of the house was commenced,[1] and within about two weeks the quaint old timbered dwelling was completely demolished. It may be interesting to mention, and possibly suggestive to other Antiquarian Societies, that our member, Mr. Tryon (Chairman of the Finance Committee of the Corporation), has arranged for a clause[2] to be inserted in the conditions of all future sales of Corporation properties, as in this instance, claiming "all old timber carving" and "all coins and articles of antiquity" on behalf of the city. It was full time that this precaution was adopted, for many interesting local objects of antiquity have been lost to this ancient city, notably the Mediæval Tiles discovered in 1894,[3] beneath the "White Lion" Inn, at the corner of Bridewell Street, which were eventually sold to a London collector.

May 7th was the actual date of the commencement of the work at St. Peter's Hospital. I refer to the erection of the large new Board Room on the south-west side, or rear, of that ancient building, for which the ground had to be cleared by pulling down certain of the premises.

It will be remembered that last year the Building Committee of the Board of Guardians proposed to insert ventilating shafts in the beautiful ceiling of the Jacobean Room.[4] There was naturally a loud protest at this act of vandalism from all local Antiquaries, with the result that the Committee withdrew their recommendation, and forthwith decided to provide the necessary accommodation, which no manner of "ventilating" could have supplied.

[1] See *Western Daily Press*, August 1, 1900.

[2] This condition was used for the first time in the case of the "Cat and Wheel." There were, however, no "articles of antiquity" found on this occasion, but the well-known carved figure-head and brackets were removed and have been deposited at the City Museum.

[3] See *Proceedings of the Clifton Antiquarian Club*, vol. iii., p. 95.

[4] See *Bristol Times and Mirror*, February 4th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 10th, and 11th, 1900.

The plain erections demolished, of probably early 17th century date, possessed no architectural or antiquarian features, but the work of pulling down was carefully watched, through the kind supervision of Mr. J. J. Simpson. During the work some portions of a 17th century plain moulded chimneypiece, much mutilated, and a fragment of a small moulded capital, or corbel, showing traces of gilding, were noticed, but this portion of the property had evidently been altered several times. A few sundry worn copper coins, ranging from the time of William and Mary, were turned up. Nothing of value, however, was found, though it was rumoured that large quantities of new silver coinage[1] had been discovered.

In the same month (29th May) yet another vestige of old Bristol was attacked, and successfully too, for the small gabled houses, which adjoined the "Seven Stars" public house in St. Thomas' Lane, facing the south side of the Church, were doomed. The "wreckers" began their work, and in a few days the street level was reached. These two dwellings, which were quaint, though not particularly picturesque, were built late in the 17th century. They had frontages of fifteen feet and thirteen feet respectively, and both over-hung the street fully two feet; each contained six rooms, the principal one in the larger house, measuring 12 feet by 10 feet and 8 feet high. The windows of that room were glazed, with leaded oblong panes; there was a heavy moulded chimneypiece fixed therein, and upon the cupboard in a recess were ornamental wrought-iron hinges of two designs.

The most interesting object found in digging foundations for the new building, to be erected for Messrs. Robinsons, Limited, was an ENCAUSTIC TILE, of foliated design—one of a set of four—probably from the Malvern kiln, and made at the end of the 14th or beginning of the 15th century. It undoubtedly came out of the older church,

[1] A mint was established here in August, 1696, and existed until 1698. (See Latimer's *Annals of Bristol*, 17th century, pp. 477—479.)

which was partly taken down towards the end of last century. In addition, a Nuremberg COUNTER in good condition, and several Charles II. FARTHINGS, 1673 and 1675, were discovered.

The important Roman excavations at Caerwent were commenced again in July, and continued until October. The work, which revealed some very interesting features, will be fully described elsewhere in due course.

Many of us have gazed upon the old Dutch house at the corner of High Street so many times, and have heard of its possible destruction almost equally often, that the subject may be considered "played out," yet it seems right to record in our *Transactions* how the matter now stands.

After two unsuccessful attempts on the part of the owner to secure a purchaser by public competition,[1] the Corporation have succeeded in buying[2] this important property, the ultimate object being to widen the roadway in this congested thoroughfare. If it is possible to save any portion of the quaint 17th century landmark, we may be sure the authorities will do so.

It must be evident to everybody that more space is badly needed at this spot—the cross streets of ancient Bristol—but possibly the necessary improvement at the corner could be attained by removing the shop only, which has been suggested by several architects.

In July a square Bristol farthing, bearing the arms of the city upon a shield within a circle, the ship issuing from a castle to the *right*, was dredged up in the harbour.[3] These pieces very rarely turn up, as the bulk of the river and harbour dredging now goes out to the Channel.

A month later TWO SPOONS also came from the river mud, viz.:—

A 15th century brass spoon, with slender square stem,

[1] *Western Daily Press*, December 8th and 9th, 1898; March 13th and 14th, 1900.

[2] *Bristol Times and Mirror*, July 31st, 1900.

[3] See *Proceedings of the Clifton Antiquarian Club*, vol. iv., p. 283.

rude crown-shaped head, and pear-shaped bowl, bearing the stamp of a minute man's head, crowned; length, 6 ins. In fine condition.

A 15th century diamond-pointed pewter spoon, with square stem and pear-shaped bowl; length, 6 ins. And in November another pewter spoon, similar, was dredged from the same source. These brass and pewter spoons are now exceedingly scarce.

In September, when Mr. Monks, contractor to Messrs. Fry and Sons, was cutting an underground trench across the open space opposite the old Baptist Chapel,[1] still standing at the bottom of the Pithay, the base of the ancient PITHAY WELL[2] was struck into by his workmen.

This relic of by-gone days, which existed at the rear of one of the houses on the eastern side, was covered in by a shed, after it was closed about twelve years ago.

The well was a deep one for so low-lying a district, and must have measured fully 50 feet, for at a depth feet of 47 from the street level a number of pottery vessels were found lying upon a thick deposit of mud. It was evident that the well was filled up before it was closed, but it must have contained at that time many feet of silt, which certainly saved the vessels from being smashed.

The well was built of dry walling, which, however, did not continue quite to the bottom. It was circular at the mouth, and measured five feet in diameter, but decreased in size towards the base, where the masonry was more oval in shape. A wooden bucket and some octagonal and round wooden pipes were also found.

LIST OF VESSELS.

Four coarse red pottery Water Pitchers, in perfect condition, though one was cracked, two of which are illustrated (Nos. 1 and 4).

[1] See *Proceedings of the Clifton Antiquarian Club*, vol. iv., p. 53

[2] See *Pipes, Pumps, and Conduits of Bristol* (Joseph Leech, 1853).

TE VIII. MEDIÆVAL POTTERY
FOUND IN BRISTOL.

The pitchers vary slightly in size. No. 1 measures 10½ ins. high by 7½ ins. diameter of the body. No. 4 measures 10 ins. high by 8 ins. diameter of the body. A patch of glaze still exists beneath the spout; but it is difficult to say with certainty whether these vessels were originally glazed all over or not.

A yellowish pottery Water Jug (No. 2), 8¼ ins. high by 6¾ ins. diameter of the body.

A green glazed Water Jug (No. 3), 7 ins. high by 5½ ins. diameter of the body.

Mr. C. H. Read, F.S.A., of the British Museum, considers that these jugs all belong to the 14th or 15th centuries.

This completes the record of local Archæology, as far as my own observations are concerned, up to the end of the 19th century.

I am much indebted to our member, Mr. W. Moline, for his excellent negatives of the dish and early relics, from which the illustrations have been taken.

THE HOLY BLOOD OF HAYLES.

By St. CLAIR BADDELEY.

Relics known by the title of 'Sanguis Christi,' otherwise, drops of the Holy Blood, belonged to several categories. They sometimes derived from the blood shed at Calvary—from hands, feet, or side of the Christ; sometimes from the blood issuing from His forehead, wounded by the crown of thorns; others still (as was the case with the Lateran Relic) derived from the occasion of the Circumcision. Still others (and these were not uncommon in the 13th and 14th centuries) derived from crucifixes which had been struck, or had accidentally fallen; or, from "Hosts" which had either been called in question, or had been profaned by impious hands, and had bled.

The long list of these latter would take us back to the instance of the Crucifix said to have been struck by some Jews at Berytus, in A.D. 765; while the history of the former may be referred to the discovery at Mantua, in A.D. 804, of a small leaden chest which contained a vase, upon which was found inscribed: "Jesu Christi Sanguis." Close beside it was a man's body, which, we are told, the Mantuans recognised to be that of Longinus, who was, according to tradition, the soldier who pierced the Saviour's side, and was afterwards converted to Christianity. We learn, also, that Pope Leo III., stimulated by the reverend curiosity of his friend and protector, Charlemagne, concerning this remarkable discovery, journeyed to Mantua. Thence, having satisfied himself regarding the genuineness of the Relic, he went into France to visit that Emperor. The political conditions then obtaining in Rome happened to be far from agreeable, and the Papal

visit to Mantua may well have been dictated by other motives; but that concerns us not.

The Emperor himself, later on, visited Mantua, and took a portion of the Blood into France, perhaps the origin of that formerly at Saintes in Charente, certainly of that at Paris.

But although a vase of the Holy Blood had reached Mantua with the body of Longinus, it would seem that much still remained in Jerusalem, where the Patriarchs of the 12th and 13th centuries appear to have disposed of it to various Crusading Princes, appending their guarantees with seals thereto. In 1247, Robert, Bishop of Nantes, Grand Master of the Temple, forwarded to Henry III. of England a phial containing some drops of it. How that king received it, carried it in state to Westminster on the Feast of the Confessor, had it preached upon, and obtained indulgence for all who came to worship it there, of six years and one hundred and forty days, may be read in the pleasant pages of Matthew Paris and Matthew of Westminster. The tradition, trustworthy or not, which has reached us respecting the Hayles Relic does not greatly differ. It came to Europe, into the possession of William II., Count of Holland, Zealand, and Friesland, authenticated by the seal and guarantee of Jacques Pantaleon, Patriarch of Jerusalem 1255—1261, afterwards Pope, as Urban IV. As this Pontiff was both a Cistercian, and the Institutor of the great festival of Corpus Domini, the Monastery of Hayles, at a later day, no doubt considered its Relic to be above all question. He died in 1264. Three years later we find Edmund, son of Richard, Earl of Cornwall, the Founder of Hayles, purchasing the relic from Florenz Vth, Count of Holland, and taking it back to England with him.

The excavations at Hayles, whither the Relic was destined, have revealed the base, or quadrangular platform, of the splendid shrine in which eventually it came to be placed; but they have likewise made manifest that the entire east end of the church underwent extensive and beautiful altera-

tions in order to accommodate the Relic; in fact, a polygonal apse of five chapels was thrown out, displaying the form almost of a 'corona,' with the Shrine of the Holy Blood forming its base-centre.

To Hayles, Edmund, in honour of his father Richard, gave one-third of his Relic, and the remainder he kept until 1297, when he bestowed it on the House of the Augustinian Bons Hommes at Ashridge, in Buckinghamshire, which he had founded in 1283. The Chronicle of Hayles relates the Relic to have been brought to Hayles by Edmund himself in 1270, and to have been carried by that Prince on Holy Rood day (at Harvest) and deposited in its shrine with great ceremonial, the Abbots of Winchcomb and Hayles, with their respective convents, attending its inauguration. It was now placed under the surveillance of a special custodian, or 'Altararius,' whose duty it became to display it at appointed times to the pilgrim and devotee, who paid for the sight of it, and miracles became of frequent occurrence. It has been thought by Blaauw (author of the *Barons' War*) that the presence of the renowned Relic at Hayles may have given rise to the saying: "As sure as God is in Gloucestershire," although he does not deny that the peculiar wealth of this County in ecclesiastical edifices might well have originated it (p. 351, Note 3).

It is not a little interesting to note that at precisely the same period as the Hayles Relic was so rapturously enshrined and adored, the greatest theologian of the century, S. Thomas Aquinas, expressed his opinion that Blood of this nature did not, and could not, exist, for the simple reason that at the moment of Christ's resurrection the blood that had been shed had perforce been re-united to the resuscitated body (cf. *Summa*, iii. 54). Other and later Theologians argued that by being shed the blood lost hypostatic union, and consequently its divinity.

This view proved to have serious consequences; for it tended to depreciate the value of these much-revered relics by casting doubt on their authenticity, and such doubt only

gained force by time. Moreover, by becoming a party-question it embittered the rivalry between the two new mendicant orders; for the Franciscans favoured Relics of this kind, possessing, as they did, certain of them at their own convents at Saintes and elsewhere. In A.D. 1351 the controversy raged at Barcelona, and Clement VI., at Avignon, was vainly appealed to for a decision. The controversies, indeed, to which this opinion gave rise were still being waged in 1463-4, when we find three Franciscans (one of whom, Francesco della Rovere, became Pontiff as Sixtus IV.) taking part in a debate before the Pope with three Dominicans concerning the point. The arguments occupied three days; but so little did this serve to settle the matter, that Pius II. silenced both parties and wisely postponed pronouncing any decision (cf. L. Wadding, *Annal. Minor*, xiii. 58, 206).

Nevertheless, the far-reaching influence exercised by such relics could not be underrated, and with reference to that of Hayles alone in that very century we find John XXIII., Eugenius IV., Callixtus III., and Paul II. all assisting Hayles in the difficulties[1] into which it had fallen by throwing their special favour on the side of the Relic and granting Indulgences to its venerators. Thus Leland (*Collectanea*, vol. vi., p. 283) tells us that Eugenius (1431) granted absolution for four confessions at Corpus Christi, and seven years and three Lents to all "who give anything to the worship of God and that precious Blood." Eight-and-twenty years later Callixtus III., although absorbed in his struggles with the Ottoman Turk under Mohammed II., granted full remission "at Corpus Christi and at Holy Rood in May and Harvest; also fifteen Cardinals, each by himself, gave one hundred days' pardon to those who put their helping hands to the

[1] These difficulties oppressed every monastic establishment in the Kingdom, and had their origin in the universal dislocation and disorder caused by the visitations of the Plague in 1348, 1361, 1368 and 1375, the consequent rise in wages, depression of rents, and ruin of the crops. As the Western Counties were specially desolated once more in 1407, it is manifest the slowness of recovery in the case of Hayles is not difficult to account for.

welfare of that aforesaid Monastery of Hayles." And in relation to this last I have found an interesting document in the Vatican dated April 18th, 1458 (Callixtus III., Reg. Secr. Vatic., N. 463):—"Cum itaque accepimus, monasterium S (M) de Hayles, Ord: Cist: Vigorn: Dioc: in suis structuris et edificiis magnam ruinam patiatur, fructusque redditus et proventus Dicti Monasterii ad faciendum structurarum, edificiorum hujusmodi reparationem non sufficiant, sed Christi fidelium suffragia sint quamplurimum opportuna nos cupientes, &c., septem annos et totidem quadragenis singulis misericorditer relaxamus." Another, dated June 1st, 1468, from Paul II. shows Hayles to continue in a poor way and still unable to afford hospitality, even as we shall find it had been sixty years before.

From these documents, then, we gather two important facts—first, that these Pontiffs regarded the Relic favourably; secondly, that Hayles Abbey during the Wars of the Roses, like many another convent, was tumbling about the ears of its inhabitants, and was looking to its Relic of the Holy Blood to save it from perdition. As we presently (in A.D. 1470) find the Abbot of Hayles, William Whitchurch, practically rebuilding the Church of Didbrook, we may safely conclude that Papal favour toward the Relic was proving really efficacious and brighter days had dawned on our monastery.

But it is clear that by that date attacks had been made upon the genuineness of the Relic; for when at his trial Sir John Oldcastle uttered his indignant protest against monkish fictions and pious frauds, at the beginning of the century, he had included in his indictment reputed nails from the cross, pieces of it (such as Hayles likewise possessed), and the Blood of Hayles. As is well known, he presently paid the price of his honest independence and clear-sightedness at the stake. John XXIII. (1412) permitted Abbot Henley to grant absolution for all but certain reserved sins after two confessions. Letters of this Pontiff to the Abbot shew that the number of monks to be maintained at Hayles was

twenty-two, and that it had been used to dispense hospitality; whereas in 1412, the Revenues had so far fallen off, "propter varios sinistros eventus," that the Convent could neither maintain its numbers nor continue its accustomed generosity. (Cf. Arch: Secr: Vat: Reg: LAT: 166. iii. IDVS: Febr: Anno tertio).

A vesica-shaped seal of Hayles displays a monk standing upon three steps, supporting in his right hand a flask surmounted by a cross, and in his left another relic shaped like a short staff. He is surrounded by a scroll design, bearing nine conventional roses edged with the legend, "Sigillum Monasterii Beate Marie De Hayles" (cf. Pynson's *Little Treatise of Divers Miracles shown for the Portion of Christ's Blood in Hayles*).

That the faithful, both pilgrims and patrons, came forward to help Hayles towards the end of the 15th century cannot be doubted. Abbots Whitchurch, Clitheroe, Anthony Melton, and finally Stephen Sagar, enjoyed the satisfaction of seeing the Cloisters enriched with solid restoration, the Chapter-house handsomely re-tiled, and all the crumbling structures rehabilitated. The recovery of six finely carven heraldic bosses from the west cloister walk, to which they belonged, has revealed the names and qualities of these generous patrons—Sir John Huddleston, Sir William Compton (cf. his Bequest to Hayles, in Cal: S. P., June, 1528), Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, and the Abbot of Evesham.

But the progress of Inquiry, indeed of Scepticism, had by this period made great strides. Popes were ruling the Church then, who in spirit and letter were undisguised Renaissance Pagans. Nevertheless, Religious orthodox opinion in England was quite strong enough to permit of a charge of Heresy being formulated in 1508-9 against Roger Brown, of Coventry, for uttering the notion that it was foolish for anyone to worship the Blood of Hayles; and nine years later similar proceedings were instituted against Sir John Drury, vicar of Windrush, Oxford, on the evidence on oath of a servant to the effect that his master had called

the Blood a fabrication of man's hands, and had declared himself to have wasted eighteenpence in going to visit it. It is clear that the reputation of the Hayles Relic was gravely at stake, and it behoved the custodians to behave very circumspectly regarding it. Speaking of Hayles, Leland wrote that there, in his day, "God daily sheweth miracles through the virtues of that precious Blood."

In 1521 an interesting pilgrim made his appearance at Hayles, on a visit from Thornbury, in Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, presently executed by his Royal master and kinsman on Tower Hill. In 1533 Hugh Latimer, later on a bitter enemy to Hayles, wrote to his friend, Master Morice, from his living at West Kineton (Cal. State Papers, vol. 6, p. 247):—"I dwell within a mile of the Fossway, and you would wonder to see how they come by flocks out of the West Country to many images—to our Lady of Worcester, &c., but chiefly to the Blood of Hayles," which, he says, they believe to be the very Blood of Christ, and that the sight of it puts them in a state of salvation. Latimer presently preached against the Relic at Bristol, denouncing it in similar terms with those used by Ridley. (Cf. *Commentary in Englyshe upon the Ephesians*, 1540.) And at last the fateful visit of the Royal Commissioners comes upon our Abbey. Anthony Saunders writes to Cromwell, November, 1535: "Whereas you have appointed me to read the pure and sincere Word of God to the monks of Winchcomb. . . . I have small favour and assistance amongst those pharisaical Papists. The Abbot of Hayles (Sagar), a valiant soldier under Antichrist's banner, resists much, fighting with all his might *to keep Christ in the Sepulchre*. He has hired a great Goliath, a subtle *Duns* man, yea, a great clerk, as he saith, a Bachelor of Divinity of Oxford, to catch me in my sermons."[1] Hayles surrendered Dec. 24th, 31 Henry VIII., when the Abbot and twenty-one monks were pensioned. The value of the Abbey was declared to be £330 2s. 2d.

[1] Quoted from Calendar IX., No, 747, by F. A. Gasquet, p. 93, in his *Henry VIII. and the Monasteries*. See also his *Eve of the Reformation*, p. 424.

The Commissioners, now headed by Latimer (become Bishop of Worcester), stated that "they have had from that House (Hayles) right honest sorts of jewels, plate, ornaments, and money, besides the garnishing of a small shrine, wherein was reposed the counterfeit Relic of times past; which all we do reserve unto the King's Highness" (*M.S. Cott., Cleopatra*, E. IV., ff. 254-6). In Latimer's Certificate, dated Oct. 28th, they state that "we have viewed a certain supposed Relic called the 'Blood of Hayles,' which was enclosed within a round Beryl, garnished and bound on every side with silver, which we caused to be opened in the presence of a great multitude of people, being within a little glass; and also tried the same, according to our powers, wits and discretions, by all means, and by force of the view, and other trials thereof, we think, deem, and judge the substance and matter of the said supposed Relic to be an unctuous gum coloured, which being in the glass appeared to be a glistering red resembling partly the colour of blood: and after we did take our part of the said substance and matter out of the glass then it was apparent glistering yellow colour, like amber, or base gold, and doth cleave to as gum, or bird-lime." This was handed over to Mr. Richard Tracy, High Sheriff of Gloucestershire, and sealed. One month later it was destroyed in public at Paul's Cross by John Hilsey, Bishop of Rochester, on November 24th, 1539, that prelate affirming it "to be no blood, but honey clarified and coloured with saffron."

This statement seems to give the lie to the calumnious affirmations which had been sown broadcast, describing it as the blood of a duck, from time to time renewed by its custodians, which were repeated by Fuller, Burnet, Herbert, and others who followed Holinshed, Fox, and other writers; all which derived from the testimony of William Thomas, Clerk of the Council to Edward VI. (cf. Bodl. MS., N.E.B. 2, 7).

When the last Abbot, Stephen Sagar, was interrogated concerning the averred trickery in connection with it, he

replied that to his own knowledge it had been entrusted to the keeping of one old and worthy custodian for forty years (cf. Hearne, *Benedict. Petroburg*, vol. ii., p. 71). Against this may have to be placed the evidence of the wife of a miller living near Hayles as given before Bishop Hilsey, to the effect (which tends deeply to compromise the virtuous integrity of that time-honoured custodian) that he had been her lover. But to this I have not yet obtained access.

It is quite clear that these statements are mutually contradictory, and that really no reliance can be placed upon them. The statement that it was duck's blood was one which at that time, in the absence of microscopes, could be neither proved nor disproved; and duck's blood would not answer to the description given either by the visitors or Bishop Hilsey, formerly a Dominican superior. Again, a portion of clarified honey, coloured with saffron, would hardly have been described in the terms applied to the Relic by the Visitors. The Relic may not have been what it professed to be, and its nature was evidently considered an open question by the highest ecclesiastical authorities; but we can have no confidence whatever in the statements made at the time of the dissolution of the Monastery as to what its nature really was.

It is possible that the former Historic Relic of the Holy Blood of Hayles may have been borne in mind by Madeleine de Beauregard, Abbess of a Cistercian Convent in Paris, in 1661, when she founded a reformed Congregation of '*Cistercians of the Precious Blood.*'

Visitors to Bruges in the month of May, 1899, witnessed a Procession with the Relic of the Holy Blood, in which the Clergy and Confraternities of Bruges (in their mediæval costumes), followed by the Archbishop of Mechlin and other prelates, took part. This particular Relic of the Holy Blood was given to Bruges in 1150 by Thierry, Count of Flanders.[1]

[1] I desire to express my thanks to the Rev. Canon Floyer of Worcester, for kindly looking through this Paper for me, and to the Rev. C. S. Taylor for valued suggestions.

TEWKESBURY SEALS.

THE SEALS OF TEWKESBURY ABBEY.

By ROBERT HALL WARREN, F.S.A.

Having recently the opportunity of inspecting Seals of the Benedictine Abbey of St. Mary at Tewkesbury from three distinct sources, some of them being better specimens than those hitherto known, and two (as far as I can gather) now brought to light for the first time, I have thought that a notice of them may be acceptable to the Society.

The earliest is of late 12th century work, pointed oval $1\frac{7}{8}$ by $1\frac{5}{8}$, and is attached to a deed in the possession of the Vestry of St. James, Bristol, which was originally a priory, and a cell to the Abbey of Tewkesbury. The Abbey Church is conventionally shown in longitudinal section with four semi-circular arches, with sloping shingle covered roof over, and projecting curved horns at the ends. A tower rises in two stages from the centre, terminating in a weather cock; at the end of the building is a smaller erection apparently attached, and with conical roof, looking like a chapter house. Inscription in large Lombardic capitals, very obliterated:

"SIGLV . SCE . . . . ."

In the British Museum is a specimen of this seal (No. 4147), but it is described as "only a small fragment of upper part, all that remains being the top of the central tower of the Abbey Church ornamented with projecting curved horns and topped with a weather cock.

Legend: + SIG . . . . IS . . . ."

The deed referred to above is an indenture made on the Feast of St. Andrew, 1374, between Lord Thomas,[1] Abbat of the Monastery of St. Mary, Tewkesbury, and the convent of the same place, and Brother Thomas de Morton, Prior of the Priory

[1] Thomas Chesterton (late Cellarer), Abbat 1361—1389

of St. James, Bristol. "In witness whereof the said Abbat and Convent have put their seals to the part of this indenture remaining with the said parishioners, and because the seals of the parishioners are to many persons unknown, the said parishioners have procured the seals of the Deanery and of the Commonalty of the town of Bristol to be put to the part of the said indenture remaining in the possession of the said religious men, and the said Dean and Commonalty at the special request of the said parishioners have put their seals to the part aforesaid." The seal of the Abbat (attached to the same deed) is pointed oval, 2 ins. by 1½ ins. The Abbat stands holding a pastoral staff in his right hand and a book in his left. The Inscription is very much defaced and illegible, the field is filled with delicate scroll work of the 14th century. The specimen in the British Museum, No. 4152, is described as "very imperfect. The Abbat standing on a corbel (?) lifting up the right hand in benediction, in the left a book.

LEGEND: DEI GRA ABBAS S . . . ."

Another seal of an Abbat (Henry Beoby) is mentioned in the British Museum catalogue (No. 4153) as "only a fragment. Pointed oval, the heads of the Virgin and child under a carved canopy."

The third seal is of the 13th century and is pointed oval, 2 ins. by 1⅜ ins. The Virgin and child are seated on a throne with panelled pinnacles at the back and panelled arms. The Virgin is turned to the right and holds her child on her left knee looking towards her. The arm of the chair on the sinister side has a curious appearance; the wax being flattened resembles a dove or bird alighting on the arm of the chair, but on closer examination this is seen to be accidental. In the base under a trefoil arch the Abbat kneels in prayer, the base of the chair shewing on each side with trefoliated panels.

Legend in Lombardic capitals between plain borders:

". . ILL ABB'IS ET CONVE . . . THEWKESBVRY."

This beautiful seal is on a deed in the possession of the Bristol Museum and Library (No 57). Thomas,[1] Abbat of the Benedictine Abbey of Tewkesbury, appoints Brother Richard Worcestre, Prior of St. James, Bristol, to take possession of the Church of St. Philip and Jacob in their name and receive the tythes, &c., which church was canonically appropriated to the monastery of Tewkesbury by the Lord Henry, Bishop of Worcester,[2] and confirmed by his Chapter. The deed is dated at Tewkesbury, 20th August, 1393.

Seal (No. 4) is identical with the British Museum specimen 4148. It is pointed oval, about 3¼ ins. by 2 ins., and is of the 15th century. It is thus described in the Museum catalogue: "In three heavily-canopied niches the Assumption of the Virgin, standing with hands uplifted in prayer, within an oval vescica of clouds upheld by an angel above it. On the left, St. Peter with nimbus, book and keys; on the right, St. Paul with nimbus, sword, and book. Each saint slightly turned to the Virgin. Over the central canopy a smaller niche containing the Trinity. In base an angel holding in front a shield of arms; a cross engrailed (Tewkesbury Abbey) supported by two lions couchant guardant addorsed. Legend in black letter:

"Sigillum commune ec . . . ie . . . ncte. Marie de Tewkesbury."

Dugdale's *Mon. Angl.*, vol. ii., plate 9, fig. 3.

The inscription on the present specimen is entirely destroyed.

Seal No. 5 is pointed oval, 2⅝ ins. by 1½ ins., and is of the 15th century. The specimen in the British Museum (4150) is described as "only a fragment containing the central part with Virgin and two saints." The present example is in far better condition, and may thus be described:—

In three canopied niches the Annunciation of the Virgin,

[1] Thomas Parker Abbat 1389—1421

[2] Henry Wakefield, Bishop 1375—1395.

the angel kneeling before the Virgin, who stands with hands clasped. Label from angel's hand, "Ave Maria." The lily pot between the two figures and the sacred dove above. On the left St. Andrew with nimbus and cross; on the right St. James with pilgrim's hat and staff. In base a demi-figure of mitred Abbat holding crosier. On dexter side a shield, three lance rests or clarions (Robert, Earl of Gloucester, founder of St. James' Priory, Bristol). On the sinister side a shield, lion rampant.

The inscription is entirely destroyed. A similar seal is shown in Dugdale's *Monasticon*, vol. ii., p. ix., and described as that of Henry, Abbat of Tewkesbury, temp. Henry VIII., from an impression in the Chapter House, Westminster Abbey. But the seal under consideration is attached to a deed dated 1485, and I can trace no Henry as Abbat before Henry Beoly (1509). The discrepancy may be accounted for if we suppose that Abbat Henry, in making a new seal, retained the old subject and substituted his own name for that of his predecessor. Such alterations of names on seals are not unknown.

The two seals (4 and 5) are attached to a lease dated 20th April, 2nd Richard III. (1485), from the Lord Abbat[1] of the Monastery of St. Mary, Tewkesbury, to John Forster, of certain tenements situate in Stepe Street, in the suburbs of Bristol. They are in the possession of the Bristol Charity Trustees, to whom I am indebted for inspection, and my thanks are due to Mr. Walter A. Sampson for kindly taking impressions of the whole series.

[1] Richard Cheltenham, Abbat 1481–1509.

REMAINS OF A ROMAN VILLA DISCOVERED AT BRISLINGTON, BRISTOL, DECEMBER, 1899.

By W. R. BARKER.

A Paper read before the Clifton Antiquarian Club, and reprinted by request.

Although Bristol cannot claim to be one of the great centres of Roman discovery, a complete list of the places in and about the city in which Roman remains have been brought to light would be a somewhat lengthy document. Further, if a plan were prepared, showing at a glance all the places in question, it would be found that these sites are situated chiefly on the Gloucestershire side of the Avon, where they form a numerous and compact group. It would appear that except for some earlier "finds" at Brislington that will presently be referred to, only Whitchurch, Maes Knoll, and Leigh Woods have hitherto been mentioned as places in the immediate neighbourhood of Bristol, and on the Somerset side—using the term immediate in a literal sense,—where Roman remains have been discovered. It is true that in connection with the Roman occupation Somerset can boast of its "Aquæ Solis," its fortified camps, its numerous villas, and its recognised roads; but from the present standpoint these are all at a distance from our great city, which was practically, if not entirely, non-existent at the time referred to.

This avoidance of the southern side of the site of Bristol may be accounted for by the direction of the main Roman road from Bath, which abutted upon the river at Bitton (Trajectus), and which therefore passed by the site of the future city, skirting only its northern vicinity on the way to

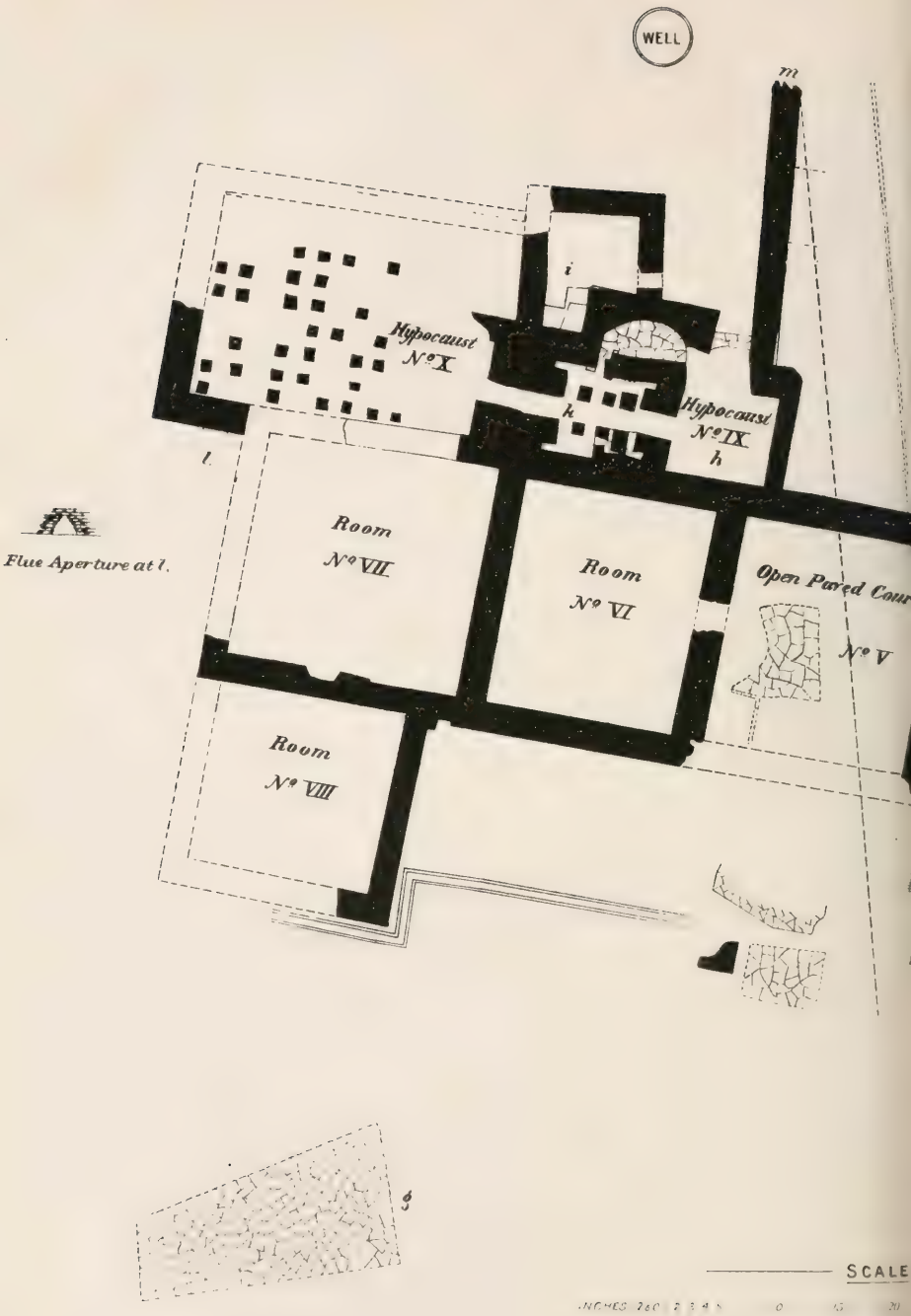
Sea Mills (Abone) and Aust. At the remote period referred to, the district around the isolated Villa now discovered appears to have been a tract of forest land, and to have formed part of what became known in a later age as Kingswood Forest. As originally constituted, this occupied both sides of the Avon, the southern portion which stretched along the Somerset side being in time distinguished as Fillwood, and in this was included the Manor of Brislington, or as it was called in the ancient records "Bristleton."[1]

In connection with these references to a long-past age, it may here be mentioned that a small series of objects that have been found would appear to carry us back still further. The presence on the site of the Villa of a number of chipped flints, one of them a small and finely-worked specimen, would seem to show that the Neolithic tribes—predecessors of the Romans—were at one time on the spot; and this would be consistent with what we know from other sources concerning the earlier occupation of the district.

However that may be, the Brislington discovery is important, adding as it does a definite link to the chain of our knowledge respecting the Roman occupation of the south-western part of the country. As already intimated, there were, however, other evidences of a less distinct character of the presence of the Romans near the spot. As far back as the year 1829, Dr. Fox, of Brislington, presented to the Bristol Philosophical Institution a series of twenty-three Roman copper coins of the same period as those which have recently come to light, part of the metallic urn in which they were placed, and six pieces of Roman pottery. They were found on his Brislington estate about a mile to the east of this Villa, and they are still in the Bristol Museum, to which they were transferred from the Philosophical Institution. For a long time there has also been in the Bristol Museum a large portion of a mortarium of red Salopian ware, which

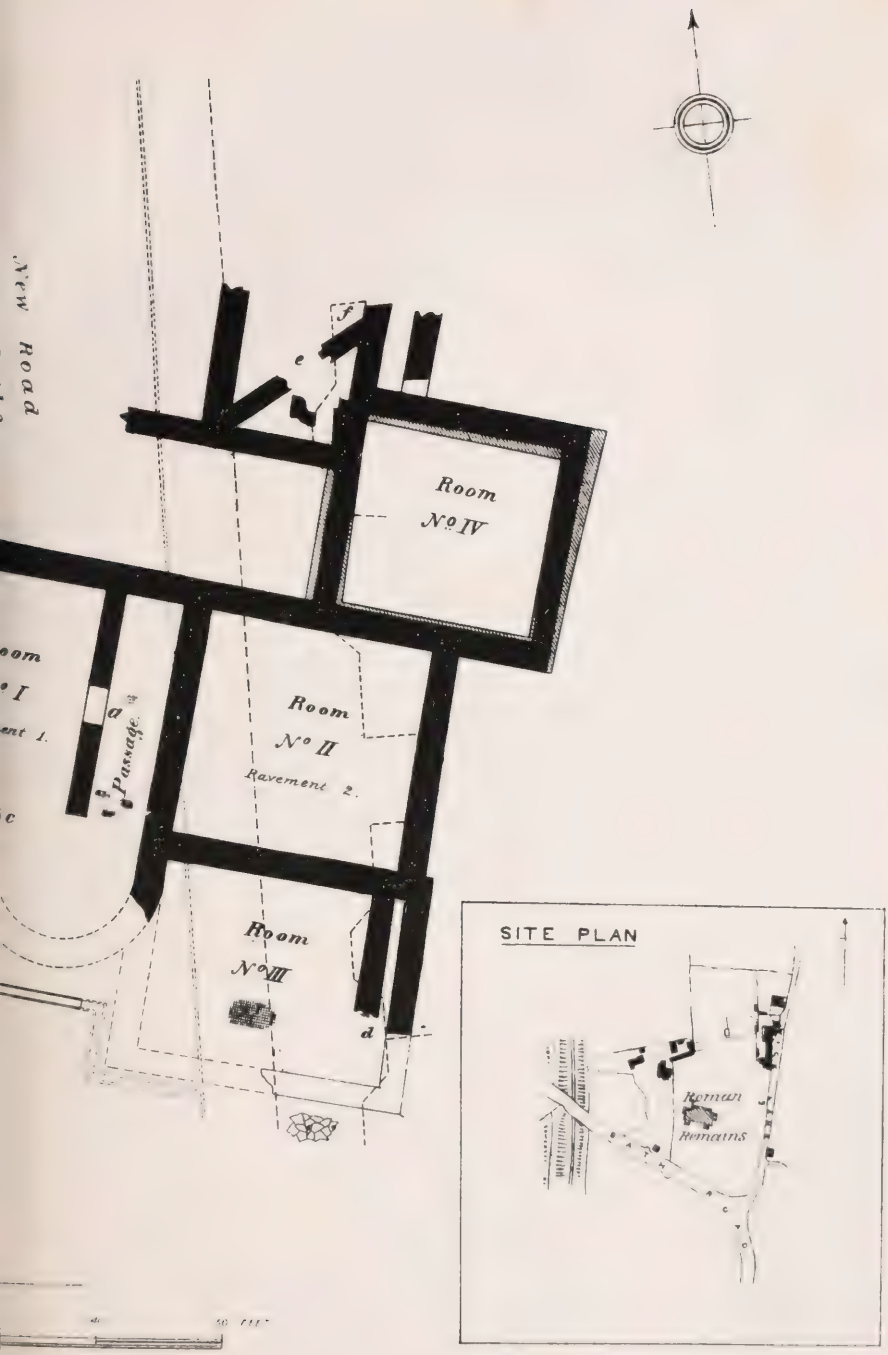
[1] Thomas de Bristulton is mentioned in the *Little Red Book of Bristol* (reprint) vol. ii., p. 33.

In Speede's Map of Somerset (1610) it is called "Bristleton."



PLAN OF THE ROMAN

DOTTED LINES SHOW NEW ROAD AND PATH



AT BRISLINGTON.

FRONTS OF NEWLY-ERECTED VILLAS.

was found in constructing the North Somerset Railway, "not far from Arno's Vale," and probably in making the cutting which runs below the roadway close to the site of the Villa on its western side.

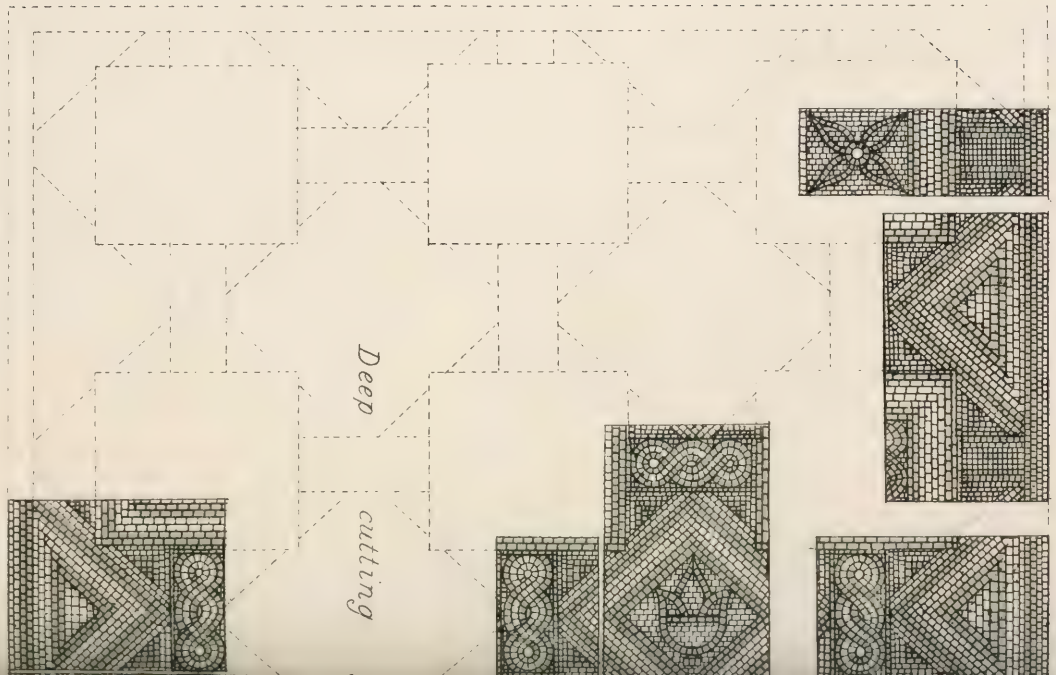
But notwithstanding these minor indications, the present must be regarded as essentially a new discovery. The existence of a Villa on the spot is not shown on any plan of the Roman roads and villas of Somerset, nor on the maps of the Ordnance Survey. It is not mentioned in any textual account of such remains, nor is any road delineated that might have communicated with it.

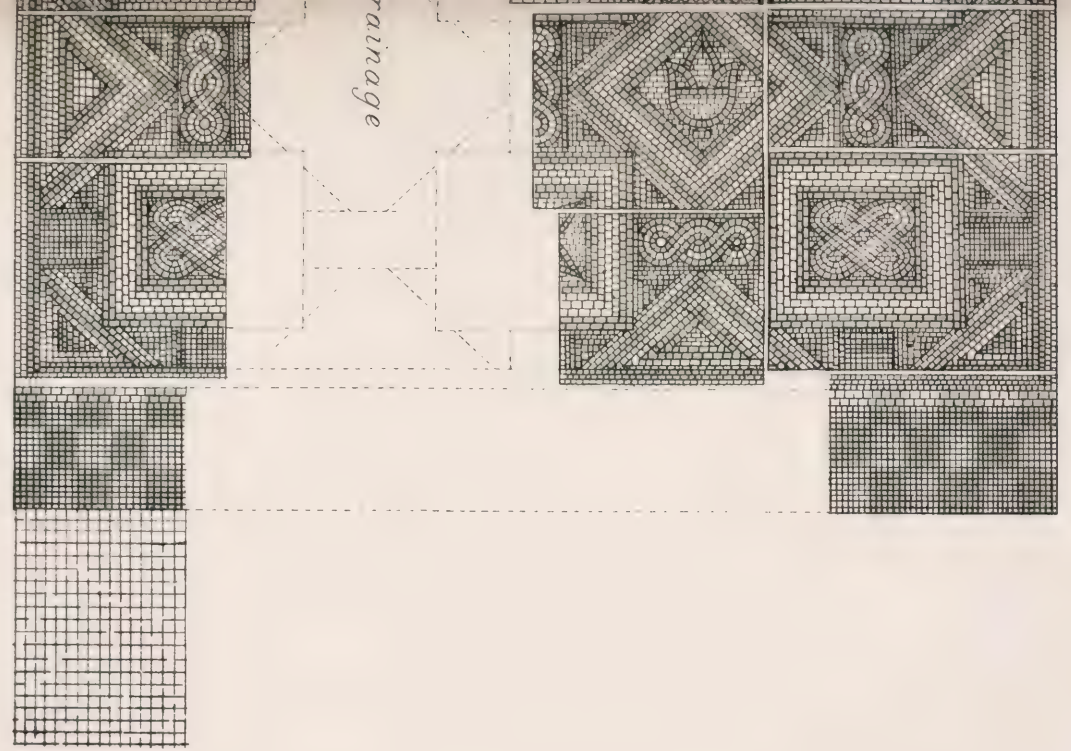
As shown by the accompanying site-plan (Plate I.), the remains were situated in a field on the northern side of the present Bath Road, and about half a mile beyond Arno's Vale Cemetery. The frontage stood back about fifty yards from the main road. Wick lane on the east was about the same distance off, and on the west was the garden of the house called "Lynwood," where some remains of Roman pottery are said to have been found before the discovery of a pavement led to further investigation. On the North, the field now intersected by roads stretches away towards Sandy Lane. The particular spot thus indicated is just within the extended city boundary, and forms the extreme south-east corner of the new Municipal area. It will be observed that the Villa had a south-west aspect: a position chosen not merely with regard to the comfort which an exposed and elevated position demanded, but also, no doubt, with regard to such means of communication with other inhabited parts as existed at the time. There were no clear and satisfactory evidences brought to light as to what those means of communication were.

The level of the whole of the site occupied by the remains of the Villa had been raised by a large quantity of rubbly material, which at some comparatively recent period had been deposited upon the field. Originally therefore the foundations were but thinly covered, which would account for the village tradition that at one time some of

the walls stood above the soil. As a reasonable way of accounting for this rubble tip, it was suggested that the Bath Road at this point had evidently been lowered, and that this was a convenient way of disposing of the spoil.

The discovery of these remains was the result of that irresistible march of bricks and mortar which is illustrated in the growth of nearly all our large towns, but is especially observable in what is happening around us in Bristol. Hence it was that the construction of a new road, through what had become a building estate, was the means of laying bare the first indications of the ancient walls and pavements of the Villa. It was in making a cutting for the drainage that the workmen came in contact with the stubborn foundations of the structure. The old had to give way to the new whatever the archæologist might say. But up to this point the archæologist was ignorant of what was going on, and the cutting was soon driven through a tesselated pavement, through various chambers, and through an open stone drain which remained *in situ* (Plate II). It was a misfortune that damage was thus done before precautions could be taken, but under the circumstances it is matter for thankfulness that the mischief was not greater. It was also a misfortune that the construction of the roadway, dividing the Villa as it did into two isolated portions, prevented the remains from being viewed at any one time as a whole, and also rendered difficult the completion of a satisfactory ground plan. Indeed, it would have been impossible to have prepared a complete plan had not Mr. Alfred E. Hudd taken careful observations in the earlier stages, and laid down a plan which was invaluable during the subsequent exploration. A similar service was rendered by Mr. H. C. M. Hirst, who also took measurements under trying circumstances. It is also right to record that to Mr. John E. Pritchard is due the credit of first moving in the matter. No sooner did he receive a hint of what was going on than he at once took action, and thereby in all probability "saved the situation." In this way the discovery came to


Deep
cutting



PAVEMENT No. 1.

SHOWING THE PARTS CUT THROUGH, AND THOSE PRESERVED.

the knowledge of other members of the Clifton Antiquarian Club, who formed themselves into a small committee[1] with the object of carrying on a thorough exploration. In spite of the wind, rain, and cold of the month of January, they devoted to this object a large amount of time, as well as a fund that was specially raised. Finding, however, that it was likely to prove an extensive piece of work, and having their hands full of a similar but much larger undertaking at Caerwent, they suggested to the Bristol Museum Committee, who had already contributed to the expenses, that they should take over the entire responsibility. This they at once consented to do, and they authorised as full an investigation as the circumstances permitted. In the later stages of the researches, the Museum Committee were much assisted by Mr. W. G. Smith, F.E.S., of Knowle, and his son, Mr. T. Smith, who devoted a great deal of time to the work, and secured a large number of interesting objects, all of which were added to the Museum collection.

From the first, the owners of the land, who were the Bristol and District Land Company, afforded every facility to those engaged in exploring; the Directors giving first to the Committee of the Clifton Antiquarian Club, and then to the Bristol Museum Committee, a free hand to carry out what diggings were necessary, only stipulating that whatever the "finds" might be they should be placed in the Bristol Museum for the benefit of the public.

The foundations of the Villa (Plate I.), so far as they could be laid bare, covered an extensive area, measuring a hundred and twenty feet in length, with a depth of seventy feet; and they formed the outline of a group of rectangular chambers of various sizes. The outline is irregular, indicating the probability that portions were added from time to time. It was disappointing to find that the walls that remained had been taken down so low that the masonry of

[1] The Committee consisted of Mr. John E. Pritchard, F.S.A., Mr. A. T. Martin, F.S.A., Mr. Alfred E. Hudd, F.S.A. (Hon. Secretary), and Mr. W. R. Barker.

the Villa proper had almost entirely disappeared. The communications between the chambers could not therefore be traced, and for the same reason many interesting points regarding the uses of the different chambers could not be cleared up. From observations made at various spots it would appear that nearly all, if not all, the walls rested upon beds of thin stone slabs placed diagonally, or in herring-bone fashion. These foundation walls were for the most part of considerable thickness, running to as much as two and a half and three feet, and diminishing in less important parts to eighteen inches. But the foundations, if strong, cannot be said to have been deeply laid, the herring-bone work referred to constituting the first courses of the walling, and the trenches in which they were laid being less than a foot deep. As a whole, however, the foundations conveyed the impression that the structure they supported must have been of a substantial character. The stone used in the lower walls and other masonry was chiefly limestone, in blocks of considerable size, and with pennant slabs in the herring-bone courses, as described above.

On the south-western side ran the open, channelled drain of Dundry stone, already referred to as having been partially destroyed. What remained of it followed the line of the frontage with angle extensions at either end, and in places it bore upon it the marks of much wear and tear in the passing to and fro of the occupants of the Villa. Supposing the original levels of the drain to have been preserved, the two ends drained towards the centre, and possibly discharged into a tank, the supposed indications of which remained at the spot. Between the drain and the recessed part of the frontage there seems to have been a corridor, a small portion of the tesselated floor of which remained. In this supposed corridor a coin of Constantius was found.

In the centre of the frontage was the portion of the Villa that gave rise to some discussion. This is marked as an open paved court, and is numbered five on the ground plan. It was raised about a foot above the level of the stone drain.

There do not seem to have been any clear indications of a wall in front of this space, although it is fair to observe that the walls of the adjoining apartments right and left were broken away at the angles. It might, therefore, be considered probable that the front wall of No. 5 had been bodily removed. It can hardly, however, be the case, that the wall in such a position had been cleared away leaving no vestige of its existence. Moreover, the floor was found to be partly paved with stone slabs, with thin edging stones to form a curb. What remained of the pavement and curb was much worn as if by rough usage, and it seems originally to have run round three sides of the open space, leaving a square patch towards the front. On the left hand of the space there was found against the wall the remains of a hearth or fire-place, and from the presence of a quantity of ashes in the immediate neighbourhood it may be presumed that there was here some means of heating or cooking. It was in a pit in the rear of this space that a great quantity of broken pottery of all kinds was found, and this locality proved to be the principal place of deposit for relics of all kinds that had been broken and cast away. The indications, therefore, all seem to point to the conclusion that this was nothing more than a yard or open space used for domestic purposes, giving light to the adjoining apartments, and communicating with the premises in the rear. The formation of the road prevented the latter from being fully explored, and there is reason to believe it also prevented the recovery of many interesting relics.

To the right of this open court there were two rooms, marked 1 and 2, with a passage 5 ft. wide between them. Adjoining room No. 1 was a comparatively thin partition, 1 ft. 9 ins. in thickness, in which a doorway was indicated (*a*). In this passage were the almost perished remains of a strip of mosaic pavement, with a plain border on each side. There was just enough left to show the character of the work, and as it could not be preserved a sketch was made on the spot.

Both the apartments adjoining the passage yielded substantial remains of mosaic pavements, which will be described hereafter.

Room No. 1 was an apartment measuring 18 ft. by 14 ft. On the left-hand side were some remains of the upper wall of the structure (*b*) built on the rougher foundation, and 9 ins. less in thickness: that is, the foundation was 2 ft. 9 ins., and the upper wall 2 ft. in thickness. The space in front of the passage and about half the frontage of the room appears to have had an apsidal extension, as what remained of the wall clearly indicated the requisite curve. One side of this apse was connected with a broken piece of walling 8 ft. long and 18 ins. thick, which projected into the corridor. Some square red bricks were found at the junction of the apse and the wall (*c*), and within the area of the apse were the remains of wall plaster and some tiles.

On the other side of the passage was the apartment No. 2, the foundation walls of which remained entire. Judging by the ornate character of the pavement found here, this must have been a more important room than No. 1, and the central ornament of the floor, representing a two-handled cup, is supposed to have indicated its special purpose as the dining-hall of the Villa. This apartment measured about 18 ft. square, and there were no traces of doorways remaining.

Room No. 3 formed the end of the Villa on the right hand. The new road had cut off the corner of this apartment, and destroyed the stone drain at this point; but there can be little doubt that the room formed the right wing of the building, corresponding with that on the left hand. There were two separate walls on the right of the apartment with a distance of 9 ins. between, and it was surmised that the inner wall (*d*), which was somewhat irregular and was of the nature of a platform, formed the base of a flight of steps leading to what certainly looked like the remains of a doorway into the apartment. There was a patch of large tesseræ, part of a border with a few smaller cubes attached, in the centre of

this apartment, and outside its area was another patch of the large tesseræ, which may have belonged to an external passage or path.

Room No. 4, it will be observed, was irregularly joined on at the rear of No. 2, and was probably an addition to the earlier structure. In accordance with Roman practice, the plan accurately shows the rough way in which the foundations of this apartment were put in, and the manner in which the walls were squared up to a nicety as they proceeded. This is further seen in other parts of the plan. The outer walls of the rooms 2, 3, and 4 certainly marked the limit of the structure in that direction, as, beyond these outer walls, the sandy soil had never been disturbed; but behind, and on the inner side of No. 4, were the remains of foundations running in various directions (*e*), which possibly were the flues of a hypocaust. In the angle, where these broken walls were found, was a pit with a stone floor (*f*), in which numerous objects were discovered. An ornamental fibula, minus the pin, was found near this spot, as also was a well-preserved coin of Allectus.

To the left of the central court were the rooms marked 6, 7 and 8. No. 6 measured 18½ ft. by 16 ft., No. 7 was 18½ ft. by 14 ft., and No. 8 was about 15 ft. square. It was in the first of these apartments that the remains of an iron-bound box or casket were found at about two feet below the original level. The angle-pieces with the nails or rivets were a mass of oxidation, and thin flakes of wood still adhered to them.

On this side of the Villa a finely preserved coin of Victorinus was found, and here the presence of scattered tesseræ led to the hope that some further remains of pavements might still exist, but such was not the case. If ever they existed the disturbance of the ground at some remote period, of which indeed there was abundant evidence, must have destroyed them.

In close proximity to room No. 8 were the remains of an extensive roughly paved court-yard (*g*). There was also

found near the spot a large quantity of iron scoriæ or slag, together with general furnace refuse.

Immediately behind the rooms numbered 6 and 7 were the chambers containing the interesting remains of the hypocaust and bath arrangements. (Plate III.) These formed numbers 9 and 10, and together they occupied a space of nearly 50 ft. by 20 ft. No. 9 contained very solid masonry, and though so much of the walls and other stonework still remained, it was not quite clear where the actual furnace, which may be assumed to have existed, was placed. It may have been in the square space on the right hand (*h*), or in that at the rear (*i*), with an opening into the hypocaust beside the apse, where access of some sort seems to have existed. The floor of this hypocaust (No. 9) was paved with thin stone slabs, and on the floor the remains of the charcoal fires were scattered about. Here most of the pilæ stood undisturbed, and upon a number of them still rested the remains of the concrete floor. The pilæ, both in this and the adjoining chamber, were of the ordinary form, about twelve inches square, and were chiefly made up of thin slabs of pennant stone. Specimens of the brick coverings, and of the flue-tiles with diversified scorings, were found amongst the débris. The apse above referred to was on the northern side of this chamber, and was built of dressed stones, with a bold set-off running round it above the basement level. The masonry of the apse when uncovered presented a singularly fresh and finished appearance, and if the character of this wall may be taken to indicate that of the superstructure, the general workmanship of the Villa must have been of a superior kind. There were no actual remains of a bath found, unless some lumps of coloured stucco that lay about might be regarded as such. Behind the space marked (*i*), and at a distance of ten feet from the eastern angle, the well was located. This was five feet in diameter, and was found to be in a state of good preservation.[1]

[1] At the time of going to press the clearing out of the well was not completed; and as a quantity of water had been met with, the results remained doubtful.

BRISLINGTON ROMAN VILLA.

THE HYPOCAUSTS.

NUMBERS 5 AND 6 ON THE GROUND PLAN.

A large flue (*k*) eight feet in length, in which a quantity of ashes were found, formed the connection between the hypocausts of the two chambers. The masonry on either side of this flue was of great strength.

The remains of the hypocaust of room No. 10, like those of the adjoining chamber, were in an interesting state of preservation, more than thirty of the pilæ, more or less perfect, remaining *in situ*. They were absent chiefly on the northern side, where the foundation wall had also been entirely removed. At the bottom of the wall, in the south-western corner of this chamber, a carefully constructed flue (*l*) was found, made, not as usual in the form of an arch, but on the corbel principle, diminishing to the top. This was at the angle formed by the junction of the walls of the rooms numbered 7 and 10. When found the opening was nearly choked with furnace refuse; and it should be noted that the heap of iron slag lately referred to was found not far from it. A separate sketch of this flue is given on the ground plan.

There can be no doubt that both these chambers with hypocausts, at one time had tessellated floors, but they were completely destroyed; all that remained being here and there some lumps of mosaic, and quantities of loose tesseræ scattered about. These from their character indicated floors of superior workmanship, the tesseræ being varied in size and many of them very small.

The general appearance of the ruins indicated that the building must have been one of no small pretensions; although there was little found here that betokened the wealth and luxury which were indicated, for example, at Sea Mills, judging by the character of many of the objects discovered there. Some idea of the character of the building will be conveyed by several interesting specimens of carved stonework that were turned out at a late period of the investigation, and a few blocks of roughly-squared freestone that were also found either buried in a hole or amongst the loose débris. All these, probably, had to do with the super-

structure. The isolated position of the Villa afforded no clue to any special purpose which it might have served, while the objects brought to light in tracing the walls and removing the pavements are miscellaneous in character and present no special or novel feature. The presence of quantities of iron and glass slag would, however, almost lead to the supposition that various manufactures on a small scale, of which these were the remains, were carried on in connection with the Villa. Many fragments of the broken stucco from the walls were found, and these in many cases retained in tolerable freshness the ornamental colouring, in stripes, zigzags, and broad surfaces, with which the walls were embellished.

Under all the circumstances disclosed by a careful and prolonged examination of the site, it may be assumed that these were the remains of a fair specimen of the Roman Villas that were frequently planted away from the main roads. As in the present instance these have for the most part revealed themselves in unexpected places, and they have served to show how complete was the Roman occupation of this part of the country, and how wide-spread was the civilisation which the colonisers introduced.

THE PAVEMENTS.—The pavements were found comparatively near the surface, the depth of soil being not more than about 2 ft. They were in a completely unprotected condition: in that respect differing from those found at Newton St. Loe, which are stated to have been covered with thin slabs of stone, as if the inhabitants in fleeing had hoped to return again and claim their own. The portions that had to some extent withstood the ravages of time were found at all sorts of levels, all substance having gone out of the concrete beds upon which they once rested, a state of things which greatly increased the difficulty of removal. Both the pavements also bore evidences of exposure to fire, which in parts had badly burnt the mosaic, and elsewhere had produced a general discolouration. There does not appear to have been a hypocaust under either of them. The method adopted

PAVEMENT No. 1.

THE COMPLETE DESIGN.

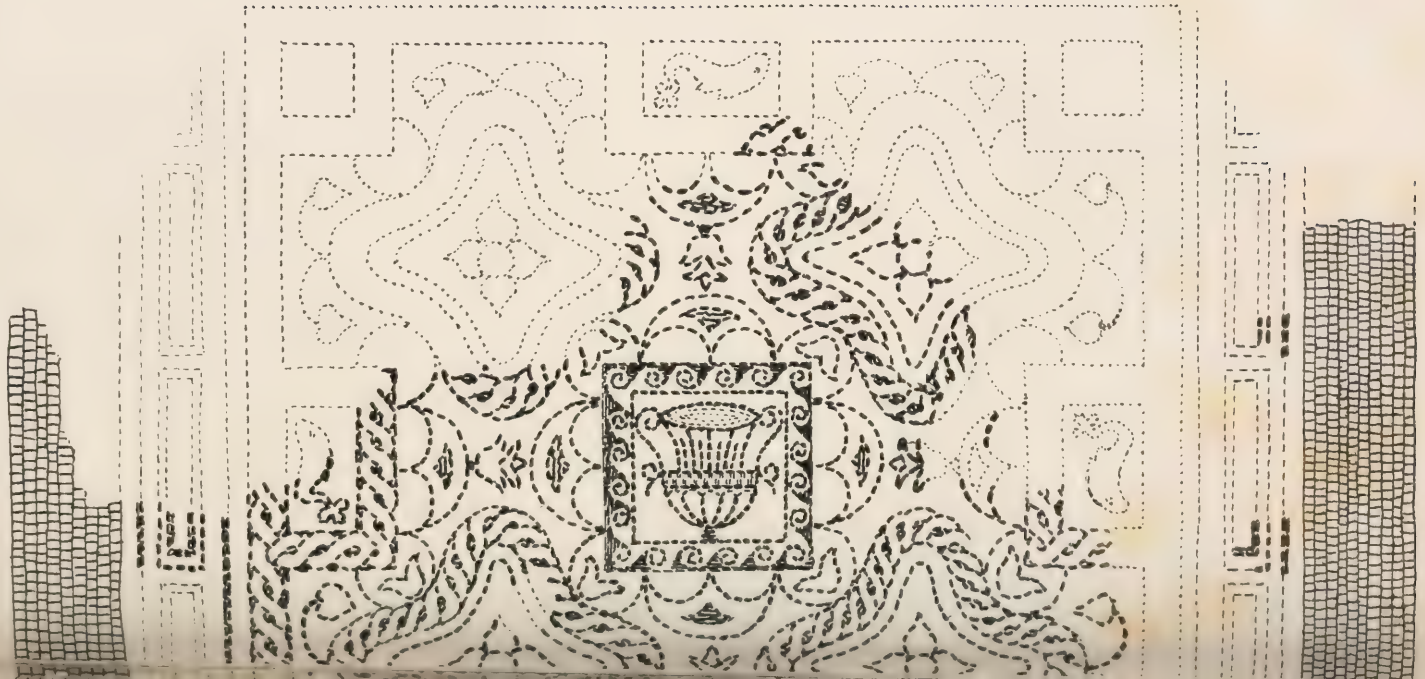
for their removal was somewhat novel, but it was the only one that seemed at all practicable when in the winter time it became necessary to remove No. 1 in great haste. It was doubtful at the time what the result would be, but it proved to be thoroughly successful although costly and tedious; and when later in the year No. 2 had to be removed, it was resolved to adopt the same method. The portions to be operated on were separated into squares by means of thin wooden casing, which admitted of a floating of plaster being applied to the surface. These squares were afterwards undercut and lifted separately. A thick bedding of cement was then applied to the under surface of the mosaic, after which the plaster on the upper surface was carefully removed, and the undisturbed pattern remained on the solid blocks of cement.

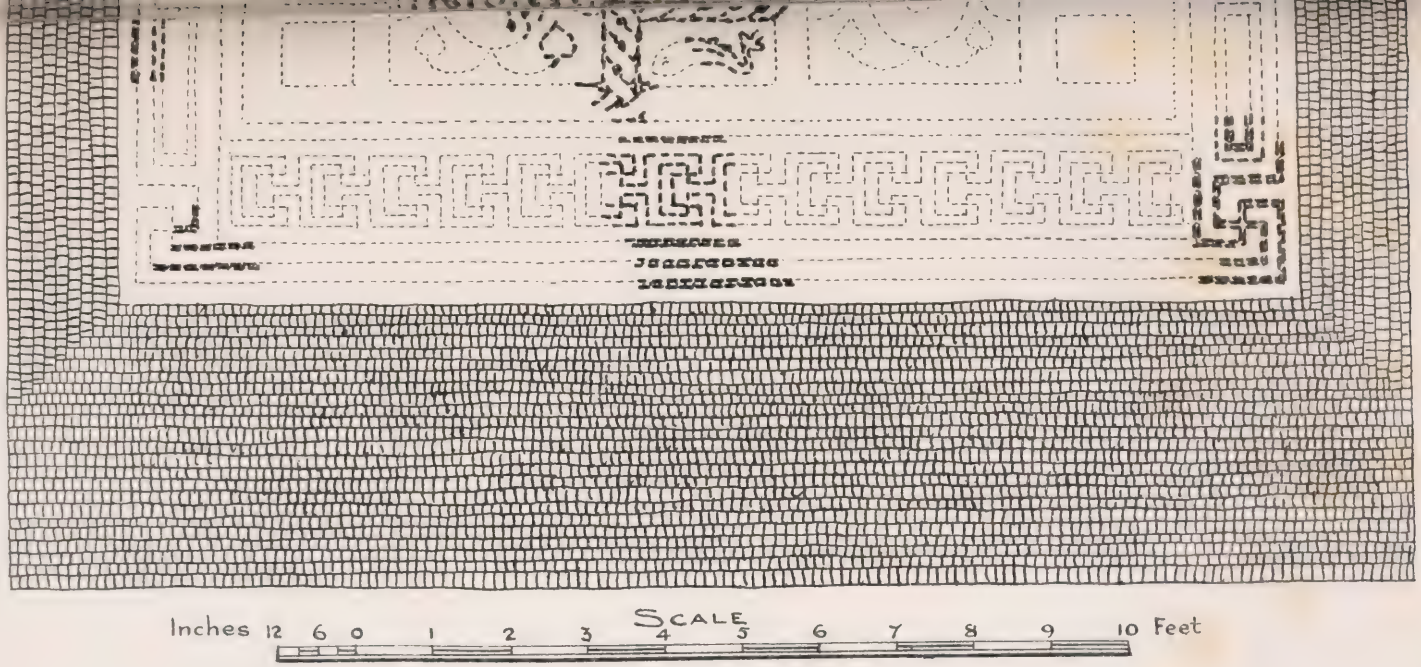
Pavement No. 1. (Plate IV.)—This consisted of a geometrical pattern of simple but pleasing character. At the upper end there was a chequered border formed of 6-in. black and white squares, and round the whole was a border of coarse lias tesseræ from 2 to 3 ft. wide. The ornamental portion consisted of two rows of diamonds, three in each row, and three rows of squares, four in each row. The points of the diamonds and sides of the squares were connected by strips of bordered guilloche with triangles filling the smaller spaces. The centres of the three rows of squares were filled alternately with knots and four-leaved ornaments, each with a striped border. The centres of the two rows of diamonds were all filled with a conventional form of the lily, and with the edges striped the same as the squares. The outer edge of the pavement was formed of a series of triangles connected by small plain squares of black and white. Although much of the floor had been destroyed, by a careful consideration of what remained, aided by the character of the design, a complete plan was successfully made. The prevailing colours in this pavement are red, white, and blue: brown and grey being also incorporated.

Pavement No. II. (Plate V.).—In this case, where so

much had been destroyed either by violence or time, it was a happy circumstance that the centre of the floor, to which all the rest was subordinate, had been wonderfully preserved. This led to the suggestion that the whole of the centre (Plate VI.), with the beautiful combination of half and three-quarter circles by which it was surrounded, should be removed in one block, and this, although a difficult task owing to its size and weight, was successfully accomplished. The entire block measures about 4½ ft. square. The curves of the gracefully designed two-handled cup are produced by the use of graduated tesseræ, the smallest being really minute, and in that respect corresponding with many of the loose tesseræ found in the débris of the chambers numbered 9 and 10. Around the cup was a square border with scroll pattern, and around this again were combinations of half circles on the four sides, and three-quarter circles at the angles. Outside this the four corners of the floor were filled with guilloche designs enclosing four-leaved ornaments, and with slender details of the stalk and leaf filling the smaller spaces. Midway on each of the four sides the figure of a dolphin was introduced enclosed in a square guilloche border. The ornamental border round the whole design was indicated by very fragmentary remains. On the right and left it consisted of a simple open pattern with the vedic cross, or as Sir John Maclean called it the "fylfot" device. At the corners and along the bottom was a wider border of the ordinary fret pattern; and beyond this again was a plain border of coarse tesseræ on two sides, 1½ and 3 ft. wide respectively. The unusual proportion of white in the colour scheme of this pavement, as well as the lightness and freedom of the design, gave it a very delicate and graceful appearance.

THE PASSAGE (Plate VII.).—Only just sufficient of this pavement remained to indicate the character of the work, but the pattern being of a repeated geometrical kind, what was missing could be readily reproduced. The floor consisted of a strip of mosaic, 2 ft. wide, with lozenge and foliage devices at intervals. On either side of the strip was a plain





PAVEMENT No. 2.

THE COMPLETE DESIGN, THE PRESERVED PORTIONS SHOWN BLACK.

border of coarse tessera, 1½ ft. wide, making up the whole width of the passage—5 ft.

LIST OF COINS FOUND DURING THE EXPLORATIONS.

1. Victorinus [3rd brass], A.D. 265—267.
   Obverse: IMP . C . VICTORIN[VS P . F .]AVG
   Head of Emperor to Rt., wearing radiated crown.
   Reverse: P[A]X . AVG.
   Peace standing to L., holding a sceptre in left hand, and an olive branch extended in right. V * in field.

2. Allectus [3rd brass], A.D. 293—296.
   Obverse: IMP . C . ALLECTVS . P . F . AVG.
   Radiated head of Emperor to Rt.
   Reverse: PROV . AVG.
   Providence standing to L. Globe in right hand, Cornucopia in left.
   In the field S . P .
   In exergue . C .

3. Constantinus I. the Great [3rd brass], Emperor, A.D. 306—337.
   Obverse: CONSTANTINVS . AVG.
   Head to Rt., wearing helmet and cuirass
   Reverse: BEATA . TRANQVILLITAS.
   An Altar inscribed VOTIS . XX. A Globe above with three stars over. S . TR . in exergue.

4. Constantinus II. [3rd brass], Augustus, A.D. 337—340.
   Obverse: CONSTANTINVS IVN . NOB . C.
   Laureated head to Rt.
   Reverse: GLORIA EXERCITVS.
   Two Soldiers standing, with two Standards between them.
   In exergue . PLG.

5. Constans [2nd brass], Augustus, A.D. 337—350.
   Obverse: [DN . CONST]ANS . PF. AVG. Head to Lt.
   Reverse: FEL . TEMP . REP[ARATIO .] A Soldier dragging a captive from a hut beneath a tree. Exergue undecipherable.

,, Another [3rd brass], in bad condition.

6. Constantius II. [3rd brass], Augustus, A.D. 337—361.

Obverse: FL . IVL . CONSTANTIVS . NOB . C.
Laureated head to R^t.

Reverse: GLORIA EXERCITVS.
Two Soldiers with two Standards between them.
TR.P. in exergue.

,, Another.

Obverse: FL . IVL . CONSTANTIVS . AVG.
Laureated head to R^t.

Reverse: VIRTVS . AVGG . N . N.
Virtus standing with spear and shield.
In exergue TR.P.

,, Another, imperfect.

7. A third brass, not decipherable.

8. Several discs of metal of uncertain character.

CLASSIFIED LIST OF THE PRINCIPAL OBJECTS FOUND.

1. COINS.

Coins of second and third brass, the period ranging from A.D. 265 to A.D. 361. See separate list.

2. STONE AND FLINT.

The perfect upper-stone of a Quern of peculiar type.

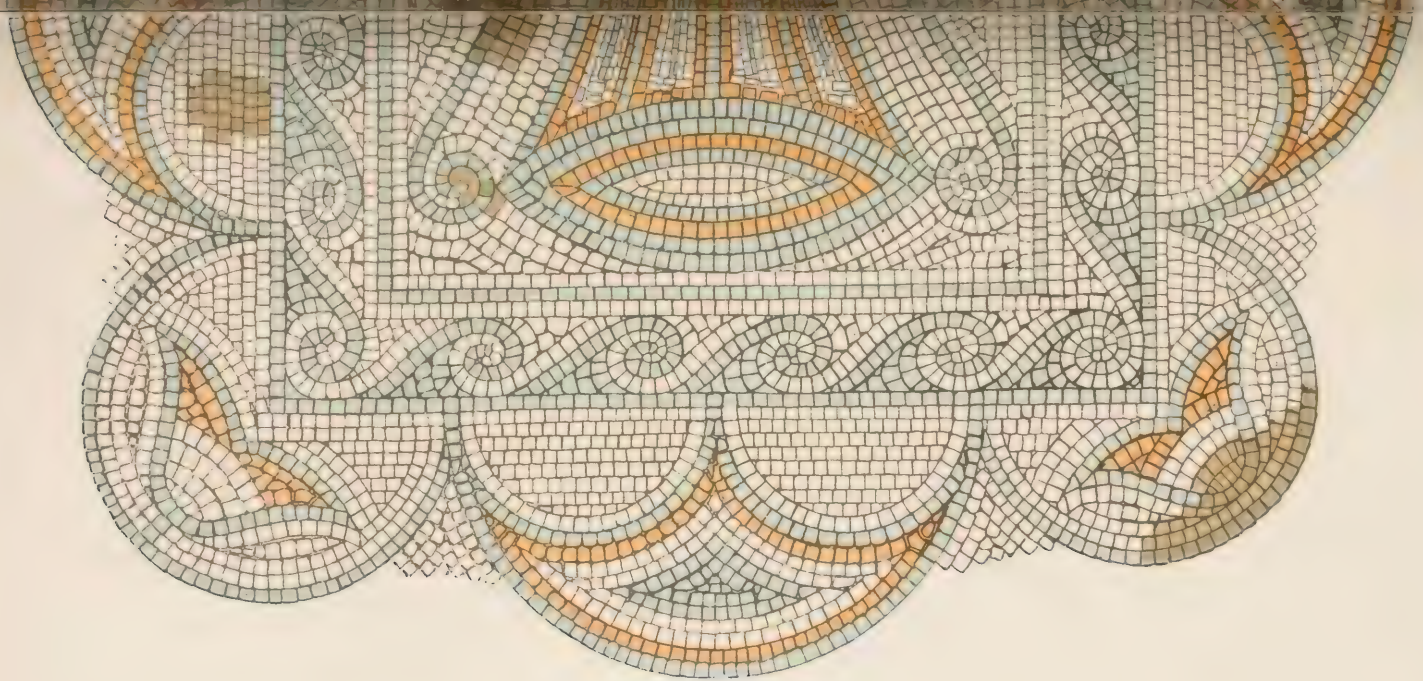
Part of the grooved nether-stone of another Quern.

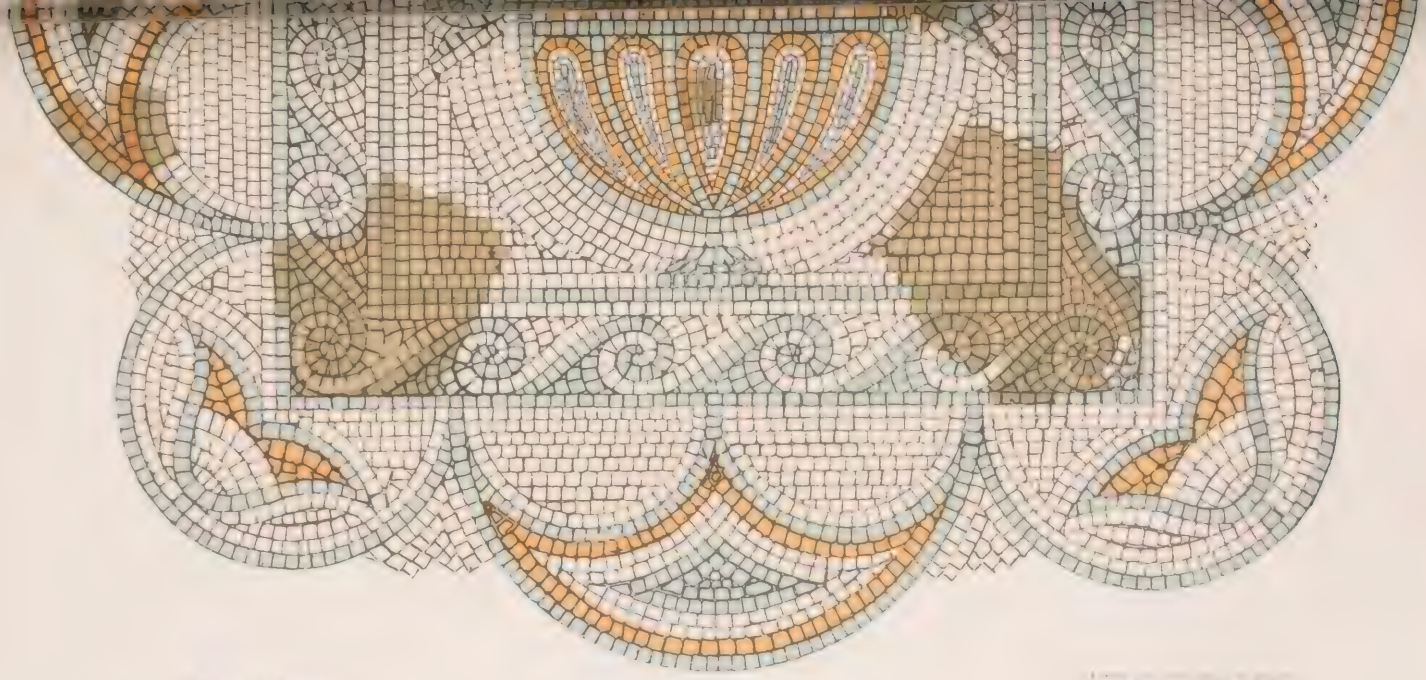
Portions of a large shallow vessel of non-local stone, with grip.

Portions of a curious mould.

Several specimens of carved stonework, and blocks of squared stone.

A large number of pennant roofing slabs, hexagonal and other shapes; some with the original nails in place.





CENTRE OF PAVEMENT No. 2.

Several whetstones, one a small neat specimen.
Many pieces of hearth-stone with glazed surface.
Small squared stone with mark +.
A roughly shaped stone with triangular head, and hacked on the surface.
Portions of the open drain from the front of the Villa, and of various stone gutters.
A small series of worked flints.

3. Pottery.

A great quantity of broken pottery, comprising specimens of Upchurch, Castor, Salopian, Samian and imitation Samian ware.
Numerous bricks and flue-tiles.
Portions of a large amphora, and of large and small mortaria.
Part of a strainer in red ware.
Vessels of all kinds are represented, with an endless variety of rim-mouldings. Most of these vessels, large and small, deep and shallow, were of a plain domestic kind, while the ornaments on others indicate articles of some refinement.

4. Glass.

Various specimens of glass manufacture, and of glass in the lump and in a fused condition; most of the specimens are beautifully iridescent.
Glass beads of various kinds.
Window glass of different shades.
Specimens with the crackled surface.
Necks and other parts of many vessels.

5. Ivory and Bone.

The ivory and bone objects include round-headed and other pins.
A bone strigil (?)
A small part of what was probably a comb, or

possibly an article connected with a game. This is ornamented with the dot and circle ⊙ device.

The bone handle of an instrument. This is perforated, and 3 ins. in length.

There are also some fragments of burnt bones.

6. BRONZE.

Ornaments and other articles in bronze include the following:

A finely preserved ring-key.

A fibula, with triangle and circle ornament, but without the pin, and parts of other fibulæ.

An armilla with hooked ends and ornamented.

Slender pins for domestic use.

Rings of various sizes, plain and ornamented.

Ornamental Bowl of small spoon?

Strips and rims of bronze.

Small bronze chisel.

A mass of bronze weighing 5 oz. found in a bed of refuse.

7. IRON.

There are a large number of iron objects.

Nails and spikes of all sorts used in the construction of the Villa, and for general purposes.

Tools of various kinds, including a knife with tang, the blade 4½ in., a file, chisel gouge, small knives and daggers.

An entire horse-shoe, and part of another.

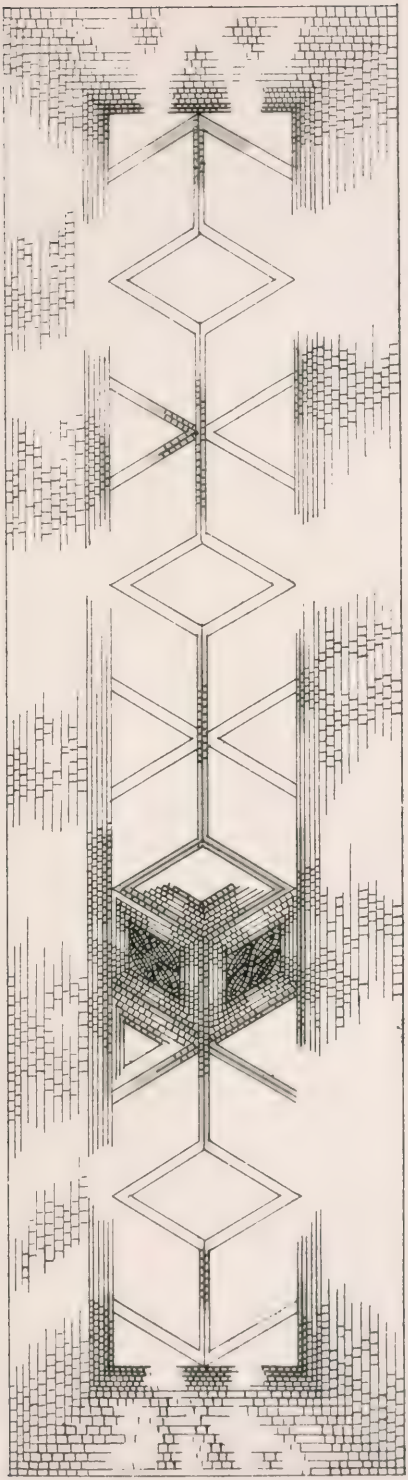
Part of a horse's bit.

The clamps of a box or casket.

Iron studs, one with the head 2½ in. diam.

Iron hooks, a round boss, and staples.

Furnace refuse, referred to in Wright as "scorious relics of iron called Roman Candles:" the metal being as usual imperfectly extracted.



FLOOR OF PASSAGE BETWEEN PAVEMENTS I AND 2.

Leaden weights.

Masses of mortar and concrete.

Quantities of loose tesseræ, large and small; and slabs of stone from which they were made.

Clinker material, of which Mr. F. Wallis Stoddart, the City Analyst, has been good enough to supply the following analysis:—

Ferrous oxide (Fe O)...	20.35
Ferric oxide ($Fe_2 O_3$)	48.70
Silica	18 24
Phosphoric acid	.20
Lime, Magnesia, Sulphuric and Carbonic Anhydrides	3.42
Water of combination	9.09
	100.00

THE ROMAN ROAD ON DURDHAM DOWN.

By ALFRED TRICE MARTIN, F.S.A.

The course of this road is shown on the maps of the Ordnance Survey, where, however, it is wrongly and without any reason called the *Via Julia*.

It ran from the corner of the Down opposite the Convalescent Home, through the site of the Reservoir, across the Stoke Road, in a north-westerly direction, to Durdham Lodge.

The Reservoir and a quarry, now filled up, are responsible for the obliteration of a considerable portion of its course, and the only place where it can now be clearly seen is west of the Stoke Road where it approaches Durdham Lodge. Here there may be seen a well-defined *dorsum*, with traces of a ditch on either side. In order to definitely settle the character of these remains, we obtained, last year, the permission to dig, and excavations were accordingly made under the direction of Mr. Hudd, Professor Lloyd Morgan, Mr. Pritchard, and myself.

I have now the honour to describe the results obtained by our work. We began by opening the crown of the road near the edge of the old quarry.

Here, immediately under the turf, or some three inches below the surface, we found a continuous layer of rough, big stones, of somewhat varying size, the actual measurements of a fairly representative stone being 10 in. by 8 in. by 7 in.

These stones were firmly bedded, with occasional smaller stones set up on end between them on a layer some six inches deep of reddish-looking earth. Under this reddish soil again was about a foot of sandy earth with fragments of limestone embedded in it.

This sandy-looking material was examined by Professor Lloyd Morgan, who pronounced it to be calcareous, and said that it might well have been formed from the natural weathering of a limestone *in situ*, but that it had not the appearance of a product of the weathering of the carboniferous limestone. As this sand is, however, not met with in the ditch, and is only found in the roadway, it seems reasonable to infer that its presence is due to the preparation by crushing and levelling of the surface of the rock, in order to secure a level bed for the roadway.

An examination of the stones of the upper layer showed that they came from different horizons in mountain limestone, separated perhaps by 1,000 feet. Here there was, therefore, clear proof that many came from a distance. They were all naturally rounded, which showed that they came from the surface.

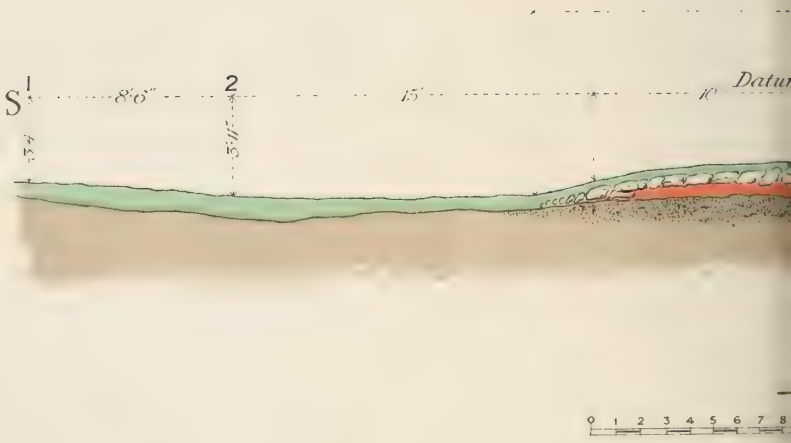
Our next step was to open a hole some distance from the road in order to compare the results. This was done some twenty-two paces to the south of the road, and the natural bed rock, with a superficially shattered surface, was found five inches below the surface of the turf.

Having thus obtained fairly conclusive evidence as to the artificial nature of the mound or ridge forming the road, we then proceeded to take a section of the road at a different place.

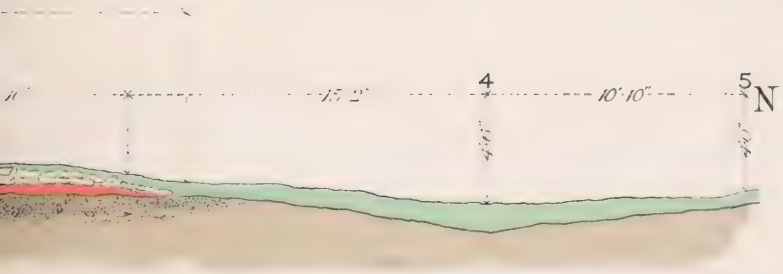
This was done sixty-eight yards north-west of the thorn-tree, on the edge of the old quarry. Reference to this section will show that the level of the ditch on the south side is now 1 ft. 2 in. below the crown of the road, while the ditch on the north side is some seven inches deeper.

It must be noted here that the ditches have suffered considerably by the hand of time, and that it would be difficult to determine now with accuracy their original width. Having taken our section of the surface, we decided to open the road again in this place, and began by digging at the crown of the road, at the picket marked 3 in the Section.

Here we found big stones bedded as before, with perhaps



THE ROMAN ROAD ON DURD



15 20 Feet

Turf and soil.
Paving of road.
Reddish layer.
Sand (calcareous).
Rock.

N BRISTOL: SECTION.

a rather greater number of small stones set on edge for packing. Some of the stones showed doubtful signs of wear. Among them were some pieces of millstone grit, which must have come from a distance of at least half-a-mile.

One of these pieces measured 11 in. by 8 in. by 5 in., and there were other stones upwards of twelve inches long.

Our next opening was made in the south ditch at No. 2 picket. Here we found the natural rock one foot below the surface of the turf. Between the turf and the solid rock there was only soil and the natural breakage of the rock. If this depth is compared with that of the rock in the hole sunk twenty-two paces south of the road, it will be seen that the ditch was originally deeper, and has got, as one would expect, partly filled up.

The big stones were found not to extend more than ten feet from the centre of the road. If the width of the road is to be estimated by this, the road would have been some twenty feet wide; but though the stones get distinctly smaller, foreign stones and millstone grit were found some two feet further. In any case the width of the road would not have been more than twenty-five feet.

One more opening was made forty-eight feet nearer to Durdham Lodge, also in the crown of the road. Here exactly the same results were obtained, except that some of the stones were bigger than any we had yet found, one being fourteen inches square.

It seems, then, abundantly clear that this road was Roman. To definitely trace out its further course, to ascertain whether it ran, as we suppose, to Sea Mills on the one side and to Bitton on the other, is beyond the scope of this paper. But there are clearly places where supposed traces of it may be examined by digging, and it is most important that this should be done in order to compare the results with those we have obtained on the Downs.

CLIFTON IN 1746.

By JOHN LATIMER.

Our fellow-member, Mr. Pritchard, has recently come into possession of an interesting Plan of the parish of Clifton, showing the state of all the land within the parochial boundaries in the year 1746, and, with the consent of the Committee of the Clifton Antiquarian Club, has kindly permitted the Editor to reproduce it in our *Transactions* in a reduced form. From the title of the Plan, appended by its author—namely, "A Survey of the Manor of Clifton in the County of Gloucester; part of the estates belonging to the Merchants' Hall, Bristol,"—it may be surmised that the surveyor was employed by the Merchant Venturers' Society; whilst the signature of "G. Goldney" inscribed in one corner seems to show that the copy before us had been made at the instance of a member of the family that built and then inhabited the fine mansion still known as Goldney House. It is to be regretted that the book which must have accompanied the Plan, giving the area and possibly the names of the various fields, as well as the names of their owners, is no longer forthcoming. The property of the Merchants' Society is, however, indicated by a different colouring.

As regards a large portion of the parish of Clifton, there are few districts in England that have undergone a more remarkable transformation during the last hundred and fifty years. When Sir Robert Atkyns compiled his account of the parish in 1710 he was informed by the local authorities that the population was estimated at 450, and this survey, made thirty-six years later, proves that but little change had taken place in the interval. The total area being set down at 984 acres, the inhabitants—men, women and children—represented little more than one human being to every two

acres. In 1702, at a sitting of a now forgotten tribunal, the Court Leet of the Hundred of Barton Regis, four persons styled "gentlemen"—Arthur Hart, John Hodges, John Sandford and Thomas Goldney,—residing in Clifton, and apparently comprising the whole of the upper-class inhabitants of the parish, were fined half-a-crown each for non-attendance. This confirms a statement made by the Rev. William Goldwin, Head-master of Bristol Grammar School, and the poetical delineator of the city in 1712, to the effect that in his time there was just sufficient society to establish a whist table.

By 1746 the Plan shows that in the neighbourhood of the church, and scattered along the road as far as near the site of what is now Manilla Hall, about a dozen houses were then in existence;[1] but local builders, then as now, sometimes offered a supply in excess of the demand, for amongst Mr. Seyer's MSS. in the Reference Library is a note stating that in 1750, out of about twenty houses on Clifton Hill, eleven were offered to be let or sold at one time. As to the rest of the parish, the plan shows that a few cottages stood in the locality now known as Black Boy Hill; a small nursery garden is marked upon or near the site of King's Parade; and a solitary dwelling, known by the name of the "White Ladies public house," famous as the scene of a shocking murder in 1749, stood at the east end of what is now Oakfield Road, and appears to complete the list. All the rest of upper Clifton is divided into fields, and from the letter placed on each plot, it would seem that the land was divided into about a dozen farms, some of only a few acres, whilst two or three extended over several fields, those marked with the letter U numbering nearly forty and being widely separated. Some of the fragmentary patches marked Z were probably limekilns, then very numerous. Some of the enclosed fields

[1] It will be observed that the road in this locality is shown on the plan to be of great width. In a tracing in the possession of Mr. Alderman Fox, made about 1775, this wide space is marked "Clifton Green," and a small enclosure on the west side is inscribed "The Pound."

are known to have been in as unimproved a condition as was the open down to the west of them; furze was abundant, and wild animals were so plentiful, that the parish vestry, doubtless instigated by the farmers, was accustomed to lay out money for their extermination. Between 1730 and 1735, both years included, rewards were paid for the summary destruction of ten foxes, a polecat, a kite, and no less than 109 hedgehogs, which were universally believed to drain the cows of their milk.

A district so completely rural was not in need of many roads. Describing upper Clifton in modern terms, the main thoroughfare was that which, starting from the west end of Park Row, ran down Berkeley Place to Jacobs Wells, ascended the hill to Clifton Church, and went on by Rodney Place and the Promenade to Alderman Proctor's fountain. It then divided, one branch skirting the down and proceeding to Redland, much as at present, whilst the other crossed the down in the direction of Stoke Bishop, its course being shown on the Plan by two rows of trees, a few of which still remain. Another main road, known for generations as Gallow's Acre Lane, is now represented by Pembroke Road. As not a single private house then existed there—indeed there was only one within the memory of some of us—the lane must have been used mainly for occupation purposes, and for conveying large quantities of lime from the kilns to the shipping, for exportation to the West Indies. The two turnpike roads from Stoke Bishop and Westbury had been laid out about twenty years before this plan was executed, and are each marked upon it by two rows of trees across Durdham Down. But throughout the twenty years the turnpike gates were repeatedly burned down by the rural population—instigated not merely by the farmers but by some landowners—and the trustees, destitute of funds, were unable to keep them in repair. Uniting at the top of Black Boy Hill, the turnpike formed the boundary of the parish as far as the present Clifton Down railway station, where the road turned off eastward in the direction of Cotham, St. Michael's Hill, and

Steep Street. The extension to Park Street was not laid out until many years later.

Turning from Clifton on the hill to the more populous district in the valley of the Avon, the fashionable patronage then enjoyed by the Hot Well is denoted by the extent of the pleasure grounds and gardens in the neighbourhood of Dowry Square. That square had been begun about 1727, but was still incomplete. Dowry Chapel was being built, and the Vauxhall Gardens adjoining—an imitation of the famous lounge in London—were being laid out when the survey before us was made. Another interesting feature is the spot marked as "The Playhouse," which was opened in 1729. In 1746, the very date of the Plan, the premises were granted on lease by the Merchants' Company to their builder, John Hippisley. The theatre is delineated as a long but very narrow edifice, which explains a fact noted by a contemporary, namely, that an actor who left the stage on one side and re-entered on the other had to leave the house and walk round the building. At the Hot Well itself, the Plan shows the pump room, a lodging house, and what was probably a room for billiards and other amusements, all of which are known to have existed. The road from Bristol ended at the Well, and there is no vestige of a path along the bank of the Avon lower down. The New Hot Well, near the mouth of Oakham Shoal, or Slade, as the Ravine was then called, will also be observed. A pump room was built there about 1730. This place was hardly approachable at all by the river side, but was reached by a horse track from Durdham Down, carried along the southern brow of the Ravine to the bottom of the rocks. The upper portion of this rapidly descending path is still to be seen. It was perfect until the construction of the Avonmouth railway. The popularity of mineral waters early in the eighteenth century can have no more striking illustration than the fact that this almost inaccessible spring, a mile from any habitation, was let for several years at upwards of £100 per annum. The lessees became insolvent, however, in the year

this Plan was made; and though their successors, paying one-fifth of the former rent, set up a lodging house, and gained a temporary success from John Wesley's recovery from illness there in 1754, the spa could not maintain a competition against its ancient and more popular rival, and the place was abandoned to quarrymen before the end of the century.

It will be observed that nearly opposite to the old Hot Well is a building marked "The Cold Bath," doubtless supplied from the spring which falls into the Avon at that place. This is the only record of such an establishment. About forty years later a small cotton factory was erected there, much to the annoyance of the nobility and gentry visiting the pump room: the workpeople being accustomed to cross the river in boats and raise occasional uproars. A little nearer to Rownham Ferry is a larger site, marked "Cupilo." This is believed to have been the remains of a lead smelting works, erected by Viscount Grandison in the reign of Charles II., or of another factory of the same kind started soon after by one John Hodges. Lord Grandison, in an appeal to the Privy Council, alleged that he had laid out £10,000 under a royal patent, and Hodges was suppressed; but the earlier adventure proved also unsuccessful.

A brief final reference may be made to the area of the parish. The surveyor computes it at 984 acres; but in the census returns for 1831, the last prior to the inclusion of Clifton in the borough of Bristol, the area is given at 910 acres. The discrepancy may be partially due to the fact that by an Act passed in 1776 that portion of the parish lying between Hotwell Road and the Avon, from "a little brook anciently called Woodwell Lake" down to Rownham Ferry, was separated from Gloucestershire and incorporated with the City of Bristol, except as regarded local taxes and the Parliamentary franchise of freeholders. But the plan-maker estimates "the whole common belonging to the manor," with the wastes, roads and lanes, to be 370 acres in extent; whereas the area of Clifton Down conveyed under

REDUCED FACSIMILE O

LAN OF CLIFTON, 1746.

the Act for vesting the downs in the Corporation was only 230 acres; and after allowing for the great devastation committed by quarrymen, and perhaps some filching from the common on the part of private landowners, it is difficult to account for so great a disparity, except by an exaggeration in the earlier measurement.

Since these notes were written, I have obtained some information respecting Goldney House, which, if not interesting, is at least curious. It is well known that Mr. Thomas Goldney, a relative of the owner of this Plan, and a leading member of the Society of Friends, expended very large sums for over twenty years in collecting shells, Bristol diamonds, and other crystallised stones for the ornamentation of a grotto in the grounds of his mansion.[1] It now appears that his shrubberies were also decorated with paintings similar to the scenes of a theatre, apparently intended rather for the beguilement of visitors than to add enchantment to the view. In the day-book of Michael Edkins, painter, grandfather of the late Mr. William Edkins, are the following items charged to Gabriel Goldney, Esq., for work done in 1777, at Goldney House:—

	£	s.	d.
To cleaning, repairing, and varnishing a large scene in the garden	3	3	0
To colouring, stopping, varnishing and entirely new painting a large scene which terminates a walk in your garden	5	15	6

The following additional items are dated 1779:—

To cleaning, repairing and varnishing all the

[1] The Right Hon. Lewis Fry, the present owner of Goldney House, has been kind enough to inform me, from notes in his possession, that the grotto and its approaches were commenced in 1737, but not completed until twenty-seven years later. The "great terrace" was constructed in 1753-4, and the tower (still standing) "for my steam engine" in 1764. The engine, which must have been a remarkable novelty at that date, was doubtless used to raise water for the fountains in the grotto and grounds, described by Mrs. Delaney. In explanation of the lengthened period of construction, Mr. Fry writes: "Probably the Spanish war, and perhaps the attractions of privateering, engaged friend Goldney's attention and delayed the work."

	£	s.	d.
architect (*sic*) in a large picture in your garden, and repainting the view under the arch	3	13	6
To cleaning the painting at the end of the greenhouse . . . and painting the grand walk in the picture in the garden, varnishing the marble step, &c.	1	1	0

After the above paper had been sent to the printers, I discovered at Merchants' Hall, through the courtesy of Mr. Pope, the Treasurer of the Merchant Venturers' Society, the original plan from which Mr. Goldney obtained a tracing, together with the book containing the names of the various owners and of their respective properties. I have also been kindly permitted to make use of this information, which, it need hardly be stated, is of a very interesting character. The details, however, are too elaborate to be given at length, owing to the minuteness of nearly all the fields, few of which exceeded four or five acres in area; but the following summary will enable the reader to identify the properties as marked on the Plan.

The area belonging to the Merchants' Society, including "the whole common belonging to the manor, together with the wastes, roads and lanes from Oakham Shoal to Osburn's Lock," was nearly 565 acres. The following were the occupiers of the land under cultivation:—

	A.	R.	P.
A I to A VII.—William Jeffreys, Esq. (part of this holding was in "Rownham common mead")	31	0	16
B I to B III.—Late James Hollidge, Esq. (two houses, two fields and "a great garden now held by Henry Combe, Esq.")	18	3	33
C I to C IV.—Mr. Willoughby (four fields) ...	23	1	3
D to D V.—Mr. Deverell (a house, garden, orchard and five closes)	27	1	15

	A.	R.	P.
E to E v.—Samuel Gardner (a withy bed, four closes and "Gallows Acre")	16	0	24
F to F v.—Mrs. Floyd (a house and five closes)...	23	2	37
O.—Mrs. Phippen (two houses, garden, orchard and close)	3	0	1
P and P i.—Mr. Freeman (a house, garden, orchard and close)	3	0	31
G to G iii.—Mrs. Pidding, late Hort (three fields)	13	1	30
H to H iii.—Mr. Paul Fisher, late Gainer (a house, garden and three closes)	17	0	30
AB.—Capt. Smith (a public house, &c.) ...	0	3	30
BO.—Several holdings along Limekiln lane (including the Playhouse)	4	1	20
K.—The Church House, with a court adjoining the Church	0	0	10
R.—Capt. Osburn, a tenement, garden and dock-yard	0	1	30
RS.—Stephen Richardson, tenement and garden	0	1	2
A.—The Hotwell House, garden, court, and Waleks (*sic*)	0	2	8
B iv.—The New Hotwell House with a splot of ground	0	2	10

We now come to the other freeholders, two of whom were owners of nearly half the cultivated land in the parish.

	A.	R.	P.
U to U xxxvii., also V iiii. and AO.—Mr. F. Freeman's freehold (8½ acres were in Rownham common mead)	189	1	17
P iii to P xv.—The Rev. Mr. Power (the first plot contained a mansion house, garden, orchards, &c.)	78	0	1
S to S vi.—Robert Smith, Esq.'s freehold (including the "Great Messuage" with gardens, orchards, &c. Nearly all this estate was garden or orchard ground)	20	0	30
T.—Mr. Frey's freehold (tenements and gardens)	3	3	12

	A.	R.	P.
CF.—Mrs. Bishop's freehold (two houses, garden and close)	4	2	16
X to X II.—Mr. Goldney's freehold (mansion house, gardens, orchard, two paddocks, with a house in the tenure of Parson Taylor)	8	3	24
W to W II.—Mrs. Hamilton & Co., the Black Horse Inn, orchards, &c.	8	0	32
CD.—The City of Bristol, a public house, malt-house, &c., by Jacob's Well	1	0	30
Y.—Mr. Paul Fisher's freehold (a large messuage, gardens, &c.)	1	0	30
Z to Z VIII., also ZO and ZB.—Mr. Hodges' freehold (marked in margin "bought by Mr. Worrall"; but one plot has a note "bought by Mr. Freeman"). This estate appears to consist of the manor of Clifton formerly belonging to the Dean and Canons of Westbury. Z is "the mansion house"; ZO "the church and churchyard of Clifton"; ZB "one lodging house and garden." There are two public houses and two limekilns	17	2	12
C.—Mr. Champion's freehold (a mansion house and gardens)	1	2	20
M to M IV.—Mrs. Parson's freehold (a mansion house, closes, &c.)	15	3	17
F.—Mr. Peal's freehold (house and garden) ...	0	0	36
OI.—Wm. Cann, Esq.'s freehold (a mansion house and gardens)	0	2	16
DX.—Mr. Deverell's freehold (the Long Paddock)	3	1	24
K II to K IV.—Mr. Thornhill's freehold (the Long Ground, &c.)	17	0	38
EF.—Mr. Constant's freehold (the Long Ground, &c.)	9	3	18
EX.—Mr. S. Gardner's freehold (a paddock) ...	1	3	20
O II.—Eliz. Jones of Harfield (a paddock) ...	1	3	6
O III and O V.—The Dean and Chapter (Rownham passage and paddocks)	4	2	32

	A.	R.	P.
R XXVI.—Mr. Ross, apothecary (a pasture) ...	8	3	35
N.—Late Mr. Gouch, the Long Room, gardens and two tenements	1	0	20
GH [no name].—The middle quarter of Dowry	2	1	15
Q [ditto].—The middle or east quarter, that side where the chapel is built	0	3	0
C XII [ditto].—Dowry square, with all the buildings round it	2	0	22
C XV and XVI.—John Godman's freehold (two paddocks)	4	0	30
K I and K V.—Mr. Keen's freehold (two fields) ...	10	0	32
Total fields, lands and tenements ...	604	1	15

The field names have not proved so interesting as was anticipated. With but very few exceptions, the closes were named after their approximate size, as "the two acres," "the four acres," or had no other name than "the home ground," "the upper ground," "the east paddock," &c. Amongst Mr. Smith's garden property S V. is marked "The Vineyard"; E I. and II., and U XIX., XX. and XXII. are called "Lippiatts" with distinctive affixes; D III. and IV. are styled "Littfields," from which Litfield Place obtained its name; and D I. and II. are called "Cecill's Littfields," and gave their name to Cecil Road; C I., "Ferney Close," is now Victoria Square; while Hanbury Road South stands on "Road Close" (C IV), and the present Artillery ground on "Dean's Close" (H I.). "Honeypen Hill" (H III.) was an extensive quarry, now covered by Park Place and Richmond Hill. The present Mansion House and adjoining dwellings stand on "Littlefields" (U VII.); while the villas extending to Proctor's Fountain occupy "Batton's ground" (U VIII.), and "the Whiteladies" is marked U XXVII. "Brimley Close" (P XIII.) is now covered with Rodney Place and the buildings behind it; and "Flower Hill" (U XXX.) stood at what is now the junction of Pembroke Road and Queen's Road. These are

nearly all the distinctive names, excepting "Ell," "the Long Leg," and "Parson's Breach." It ought to be added that the road known in modern times as Gallows' Acre Lane is repeatedly called "Gallows' Hill Road" in the Surveyor's book.

There is a valuable paper in volume III. of the *Transactions* of the Society, by Mr. Alfred S. Ellis, on the "Manorial History of Clifton," to which the present writer contributed some supplementary notes in volume XVI. These papers are most helpfully illustrated by the map obtained by Mr. Pritchard.

PLATE VII.—BRONZE FIGURE
FROM AUST CLIFF GLOS.

AN ANCIENT BRONZE FIGURE FROM AUST CLIFF, GLOUCESTERSHIRE.

By FREDERICK ELLIS.

Mr. F. Ellis, of Egerton Road, Bishopston, has forwarded to Mr. A. E. Hudd, the Honorary Secretary of the Clifton Antiquarian Club, the following communication, accompanied by a photograph, which he has kindly allowed us to reproduce here:—

"This little bronze figure, which measures 5½ inches in height and 1 inch across the shoulders, was found on the foreshore at Aust, in the month of August, 1900, by Mr. James Spratt, of Bristol, a relative of the writer. It is of rude workmanship, and has been shaped apparently out of a cylindrical piece of bronze, by the aid of some cutting tool, the surface presenting a fairly smooth appearance, as if it had been finished with a file.

"The general form of the figure presents those flattened outlines usually seen in primitive attempts at sculpture, and is suggestive on the one hand of the small bronze deities of ancient Egypt, and on the other of the more recent barbaric productions of African natives. The head is adorned with a kind of nimbus or semi-lunar ornament, resembling the female head-dresses depicted on Roman coins. The mouth and ears are represented by shallow incisions, the nose being prominent and well shaped, and the chin somewhat pointed. For eyes, two roughly rounded granules of a semi-transparent substance, probably quartz, had been fixed in two deep sockets cut into the metal. One of these eyes still remains in position, the other is missing. The arms are not detached from the body, and the hands are not represented; the chest

is flattened, but the breasts stand out prominently; the haunches are well developed behind, and the legs are only partially separated, each showing at its extremity a shallow aperture, as if for attachment to feet or a block stand.

"This interesting relic of antiquity was picked up close to the base of Aust Cliff, in a position indicating its recent fall with a heap of débris which lay near, from the ever-crumbling rock above it. The highly patinated condition of the figure shows earth burial, and is incompatible with the idea of its being cast up by the tidal waters of the estuary; moreover, objects thrown up by the tide at this spot are invariably those which float in water, and not heavy metallic bodies, such as the specimen under consideration.

"The little figure has passed by purchase into the National Collection at the British Museum, where it will doubtless receive due attention from archæologists. Mr. C. H. Read, F.S.A., writing from the museum, describes it as 'a barbarous production of unknown date, probably representing some goddess.' Half a century ago archæologists would unhesitatingly have pronounced it to be of Phœnician origin; and it is quite possible, from its near proximity to the Channel, that it may have been brought from some distant land in early British times by traders for it is well known that Aust was a great place of crossing both for merchandise and travellers in the very earliest times, and that it continued to be so through the succeeding Roman and mediæval periods down to our own day. If the figure is not of pre-Roman date, we cannot assign a later date to it than that of the Roman period, when it might possibly have been the much valued production or possession of some slave or Celtic barbarian. Indeed, other discoveries at the same place lend support to the latter theory; for some Samian ware and other Roman pottery, now in the Bristol Museum, were found in the cliff, and Roman coins are reported to have been picked up on the beach, close to the spot where this latest discovery was made."

"Since the above was written, Mr. Alfred Selley, of Southville, has discovered in the top soil of the Cliff, immediately above the spot where the figure was found, a large fragment of a Samian dish and some pieces of Upchurch pottery; thus furnishing additional evidence of the Romano-British occupation of the site."

Notices of Publications.

ENGLAND IN THE AGE OF WYCLIFFE. By George Macaulay Trevelyan. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1899.

This book, which was originally composed as a dissertation sent in to compete for a Fellowship at Trinity College, Cambridge, is an excellent instance—as the *Holy Roman Empire* of Mr. Bryce was in days gone by—of the way in which a work, put forth in the first instance as an academical exercise, may prove to be one of real and permanent value. The period covered is in secular matters from 1376 to 1385, while the history of the Lollards is carried down to the death of Richard II., and an additional chapter relates their fortunes as far down as 1520. The book, as its title declares, is not so much a history of the Wycliffite movement, as an account of English society, politics, and religion at a most interesting point in the history of the nation. But the subject of the book does practically divide itself into two branches—secular and ecclesiastical. The secular portion centres in the peasants' rising of June 1381, which ended in the death of Archbishop Sudbury, on the one side, and of Wat Tyler, on the other; the ecclesiastical portion contains an excellent account of the state of the Church in its various capacities, and of its relations to the nation, and then develops into an account of the religious influence of John Wycliffe himself, and of the Lollards who followed him. Of course, there was no distinct line of division between things civil and things ecclesiastical; and Wycliffe, when he urged the secularisation of Church property, was a reformer on both sides. There can be little doubt that his teaching on this subject—though he carefully distinguished between the property of clergy and laymen, asserting the right of the latter to hold their own—did really serve to fan the flame of the peasants' revolt. Mr. Trevelyan gives a vivid account of the rising in June 1381, when the peasants in revolt against the old land-services made common cause with the citizens of London in their revolt against John of Gaunt, and for some days the power both of King and Lord Mayor was limited by the walls of the Tower. He tells also of the treachery and cruelty which marked the suppression of the rebellion, and which probably kept alive the spirit of discontent resulting in local risings in various parts of the kingdom for some years after. Mr. Trevelyan gives a map showing the

districts most affected by Lollardry in the time of Wycliffe, and in the 15th century. In the time of Wycliffe it affected chiefly two districts, one including Northamptonshire and Leicestershire, extending as far north as Nottingham; the other including Worcestershire, Herefordshire, Gloucestershire, and Wiltshire; Canterbury, London, Coventry, and Sussex were also affected. In the 15th century the movement extended to Lincolnshire, Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Middlesex, and Buckinghamshire, with Somerset, in the West. The whole of the North of England, Wales, and the Southern Counties (except Sussex) were unaffected. It is not easy to account for the distribution of Lollardry. Mr. Trevelyan is disposed to attribute it to slackness on the part of the Bishops; but if so, why should only two shires in the great Diocese of Lincoln be affected, or why should Wilts and Berkshire be affected and Dorset free? The presence of Wycliffe at Luttleworth will no doubt account for the strength of his cause near Leicester; but there must have been some special reason why his principal helpers should have drifted one by one to the West of England. John Swinderby, who was actually condemned to death for heresy at Lincoln, in 1382, taught afterwards for awhile at Coventry, and then passed to the West Country. John Purvey, who lodged with Wycliffe in Lutterworth Rectory to the end, followed him. John Aston had already sought the same region as Nicholas Hereford had also done. It cannot be that Wycliffe's preferment as Prebendary of Aust, in the College of Westbury, had anything to do with the matter, for though he was confirmed by the Crown in the Prebend to which he had been provided by the Pope on November 6th, 1375, there is no evidence that he was ever instituted, and a fortnight later the Prebend was conferred on Robert de Faryngtone. At any rate, Bishop Wakefield of Worcester was not slack in condemning Lollardry, for on August 1st, 1387, while at Henbury, he inhibited Hereford, Ashton, Purvey, Parker, Swinderby, or any of their sect, from preaching in any consecrated or unconsecrated place, and forbade any of the faithful to listen to them under pain of the greater excommunication. It is worth noticing that at this time London, Bristol, and Coventry, great centres of population, were points where Lollardry was strong, though Norwich, York, and Newcastle-on-Tyne, also populous places, were unaffected by it. Its absence from the East Coast is a fair proof that the teaching was not imported from abroad. Mr Trevelyan devotes a very interesting chapter to the subsequent history of Lollardry till it was merged in the great anti-Roman movement of the 16th century. If any member of the society is inclined to take up the subject of the Wycliffite movement in Gloucestershire, he could not do better than by making a study of this book his starting point; it is a most careful, impartial, and sympathetic piece of work. There is a sufficient and well-arranged index.

THE PEASANTS' RISING AND THE LOLLARDS. Edited by EDGAR POWELL and G. M. TREVELYAN. London: LONGMANS, GREEN & Co. 1899.

THIS is a small book of some eighty pages, which contains a collection of original documents in illustration of the above-mentioned work. Certainly in some places the preachers went very far; at Northampton, in 1392, even preaching during the Celebration of Mass to the interruption of the service. This was done under the protection of the mayor, and gave rise to great scandal and confusion. It appears from a return of foreigners holding benefices in England, made in 1378, that at that time no aliens had been promoted to benefices in the Diocese of Worcester. Few dioceses were so fortunate. There is an extract from the Assize Roll of Somerset of 1399, relating to the resistance offered by the tenants of the Bishop at Wellington; but the book, though very useful with regard to the general subject of which it treats, gives little special information with regard to this neighbourhood.

SURVEYS—HISTORIC AND ECONOMIC. By W. J. ASHLEY, M.A., Professor of Economic History in Harvard University. LONGMANS. 1900.

MR. ASHLEY has been a Fellow of an Oxford College, and also Professor of Political Economy at Toronto, so that service in three countries ought to have given him a wide experience of life, a capacity of seeing various sides of things, and broad sympathies; all of which should be most helpful with regard to the subject of which he treats. He has devoted himself to it now for many years, and everything which he writes on the subject deserves careful attention. The range of the book is sufficiently wide. There is an admirable essay on the "Anglo-Saxon Township," concerned with the beginnings of English History, a comparison between the scholarship system at Oxford and Harvard to-day, and something about almost every period which lies between. A good deal of the book is devoted to subjects which do not lie within the range of an Archæological Society, such as the articles on Mr. Toynbee and Mr. Freeman, Lord Acton and Professor Jowett, and with regard to much of what is said here, many people will think that Mr. Ashley has failed to understand his subjects. The papers on Trusts are interesting, both from an historical and social point of view, and the papers on the relations between England and America are very well worth reading. Mr. Ashley thinks that the restrictions imposed by the mother country on the trade of the colonies did good to the latter, rather than harm, and that, at any rate, there was no serious discontent with them prior to 1760. One hundred pages of the book are occupied by a series of papers all bearing on mediæval town life

which will repay careful perusal, though the subject suffers from the scrappy form in which it is presented. Mrs. Green's "Town Life in the Fifteenth Century," Professor Maitland's "Township and Borough," and Mr. Round's "Commune of London" receive ten pages between them. Still, a very great deal of information with regard to mediæval boroughs is brought together in a very accessible form. There is also a series of papers on mediæval agrarian matters, to which the same remarks will apply. Without doubt the best part of the book consists of the two original papers on the "History of English Serfdom" and the "Anglo-Saxon Township," which are very carefully worked out, and are really valuable contributions to the knowledge of the subjects on which they treat. The book will hardly add to Mr. Ashley's reputation. No doubt it suffers from its form, which is that of a collection of addresses and reviews, but it presents too much the appearance of a guide to superficial knowledge made easy. There is no index of any kind, and it is a very rare instance of a book in which the absence of an index is a positive advantage. A good index would make the acquisition of the appearance of knowledge much too easy; as it is, the book must at least be read before its contents can be discovered.

ENGLISH DIOCESES. By the Rev. GEOFFRY HILL. London: ELLIOT STOCK. 1900.

THIS book is, so far as its form is concerned, a peculiar one—"*Chaos, rudis indigestaque moles.*" It is a compilation, gathered from very many sources, of facts and statements relating to the history of the development and growth of the English dioceses. There was room and need for such a book, and those who are able to reduce it to order in their own minds will find it very helpful. They will find the process of hunting with the hare, in the text, and running with the hounds, in the notes, which often cover more than half the page, divided under various heads, mentally stimulating; and they will find, also, that they have to do all their own thinking for themselves. The author supplies authorities enough of many and various degrees of trustworthiness, and the reader has to gather up their meaning and weigh their value in his own mind; there is little sifting of authorities. This is all that need be said about the form of the work; the authorities to which reference is made are collected and arranged with great care, and the book is a storehouse of information on the subject of which it treats. The writer begins with a short summary of what is known or imagined concerning the Church organisation of Roman Britain; and then, passing to the English Church before the Reformation, he considers it by periods—(1) from Augustine to Theodore, (2) from Theodore to the foundation of the Archbishopric of Lichfield, (3) the time of the Danish wars; (4) from the revival under Edward the

Elder to the Conquest; (5) from that date to the Reformation. The dioceses founded by Henry VIII. have a chapter to themselves, and so have those founded in the 19th century. There are chapters concerning the Welsh and Scottish dioceses, and also one on Suffragan Bishops. It is much to be regretted that the author did not add a chapter on the Irish dioceses; no doubt the compilation of such a chapter would have been a troublesome task, but exactly in proportion as it was so it would have been helpful. With regard to local matter, the map of the dioceses in the period prior to Theodore shows the West-Saxon diocese stretching up to Shrewsbury, following the idea that Fethanleah is represented by Faddiley. Whether or no that was the site of the battle of 584, it is quite certain that the West Saxons left no trace of any dominion towards the north beyond the limits of the old diocese of Worcester. Moreover, the See of the West Saxons was founded in 634, at which time Birinus found the country north of Thames still heathen; while in 676 the church of Bath was founded by a Mercian Viceroy. The Huiccians clearly received their Christianity from the North, and it is not probable that they ever owed any spiritual allegiance to Winchester or Dorchester. Mr. Hill has avoided the trap into which some better known writers have fallen, and gives the Forest of Dean district to Hereford, not to Worcester. On the other hand, he brings the boundary of the Hereford diocese further east than most people would acknowledge. The dispute in 803 was about property at Beckford and Cheltenham, not about diocesan rights; it was no uncommon thing for a Bishop to hold property in a diocese not his own. Gloucester, Withington, Winchcombe, and Cleeve were certainly in the diocese of Worcester at that time, and it is extremely unlikely that Beckford and Cheltenham lay in that of Hereford. Mr. Hill relies here too much on Mr. Green, whose story, though brilliant, was hardly more than founded on fact. The Bishop of Hereford held property at Prestbury, close to Cheltenham, in *Domesday*. It is strange that in considering the western boundaries of the Diocese of Hereford, Mr. Hill makes no mention of the district of Archenfield, between Wye and Monnow, whose special customs are recorded in *Domesday*. With regard to the See of Somerset, Mr. Hill rejects the story of a See at Congresbury, no doubt rightly, though it is not easy to see how the story can have grown up unless there was some foundation in fact. St. Congar seems to have existed; the church at Badgworth is dedicated in his name, and the dedication to St. Andrew, which is now accepted at Congresbury, may very likely have arisen from the connection of the place with Wells Cathedral. There is a careful discussion of the diocesan affinities of the district which is now Lancashire. St. Wilfrid appears at Preston, Ribchester, Standish, and Farnworth in Prescot; St. Oswald at Thornton, in Lonsdale and Winwick; St. Cuthbert at Kirkby Ireleth, Aldingham,

Clifton in Westmoreland, and Lytham. These are all Northumbrian dedications, and it is likely that the dedications to St. Chad at Rochdale, Claughton, and Kirkby near Liverpool, refer rather to his Northumbrian than to his Mercian Episcopate. Mr. Hill thinks that the district south of Ribble lay in the diocese of York; while the region north of that river, with perhaps part of Westmoreland, pertained to Ripon. Probably the land between Mersey and Ribble passed to Mercia in 923, when King Edward the Elder sent a force of Mercians to conquer Manchester, to repair and to man it. Diocesan changes subsequent to 1066 are carefully traced out. The book is provided with a satisfactory index, and will be most helpful to those who are interested in the subject of which it treats.

A HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH CHURCH FROM THE NORMAN CONQUEST TO THE ACCESSION OF EDWARD I. By W. R. W. STEPHENS, B.D., F.S.A. London: MACMILLAN & Co. 1901.

THIS is the missing link between Mr. Hunt's volume on the English Church before the Conquest, and the volume by Mr. Capes on the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries, and certainly none of the writers to whom the volumes of the series are assigned have a nobler period than that which the Dean of Winchester claimed for himself. Probably there is no See in Western Christendom, except the patriarchal throne of St. Peter, which has been occupied in two centuries by such a succession of prelates as Lanfranc, St. Anselm, St. Thomas of Canterbury, Stephen Langton, and St. Edmund Rich. The same period gave to us the Cathedrals of Durham, Salisbury, and Lincoln, the choir of Canterbury and the west front of Wells, besides some of the very noblest of the monastic and parochial churches which still remain to us. It witnessed also the rise of the Universities, the time of the greatest usefulness of the monastic houses, and the coming of the Friars. This was on the whole the best and purest period in the history of the English Church, when it stood forth before the people as it had hardly ever done before, and never to the same extent since, as the teacher of a pure Christianity, the mistress of useful learning, the champion of the liberties of the people, the hope of the oppressed. Especially well does the Dean of Winchester tell the story of the gradual growth of the power of the Court of Rome. Edward the Confessor brought Continental influences to bear on the Church of England more closely than ever before; the Conqueror developed his predecessor's work, and no doubt at first the Continental influence was all for good: it was an unmixed blessing that Lanfranc and St. Anselm should sit in the seat of Stigand. Then there came the intrusive legatine power with the consequent weakening of the influence of the Home Episcopate, and

before the period had run its course Pope and King were agreeing together at the cost of the liberty of the Church, and a state of feeling was growing up which resulted in the disasters of the 16th century. Probably it was really owing to the possibility of the interference of the Pope that the unhappy dispute between Henry II. and St. Thomas of Canterbury was due. Both were strong men, both meant well, and if it had been necessary to settle the difficulty within the four corners of the English Church, it seems likely that it could have been done. The King and the Archbishop might have worked together as St. Dunstan and Edgar, the Conqueror and Lanfranc had worked before them. The Dean of Winchester tells the story of the dispute very fairly and well; but he is not so clear in his account of the strife over investiture: it is not till the very close of the account that we find what investiture was. There is not very much of specially local interest in the book, but it will be news to many that it was at Alveston in the forest of Horwood, that the name of St. Anselm was first mentioned to William Rufus as a worthy successor of Lanfranc, though we all know that the greatest day in the twelve centuries of the history of the Church of St. Peter, of Gloucester, is that on which the saint was brought into it protesting his unworthiness of the high office that was thrust upon him. The book is evidently the outcome of thorough and patient work on the part of one who has equipped himself for the greatest task which any historian of the English Church could undertake, by a most careful study of original authorities. And if after all the work does not seem to reach the same high level of excellence which had been attained by Mr. Hunt and Mr. Capes, it is most likely only that the editor of the series has chosen for himself to bend the mightiest bow; there were giants in those days both in Church and State, and it is likely enough that readers as well as writers fall short of comprehension. This much, however, is certain, that if the succeeding volumes of the series attain to anything like the standard of the first three, the English people will possess what has never yet been within their reach, a history of their Church which they can trust, and which is worthy of its subject.

STUDIES IN PEERAGE AND FAMILY HISTORY. J. HORACE ROUND. Westminster: ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE & Co. 1901.

No one can doubt Mr. Round's courage. As of old, kings went out to battle as the right season of the year came on, so now each revolving year seems to bring one of his pugnacious books. But Mr. Round's pugnacity has its uses, especially in demolishing the fables and endless genealogies which minister questions on which his attacks are directed in his latest book. His prey lies helpless before him, for of all foolishness a peerage of

the old type is historically the most foolish. Those who came over with the Conqueror may doubtless have been legion; but in Gloucestershire, at any rate, the only families which can claim to hold by unbroken descent the lands which are attributed to their forefathers in *Domesday* are the Tracys at Toddington, and the Cliffords at Frampton-on-Severn. Few who have not tried know how difficult it is to trace back a pedigree even from parish registers, still more when these are not available; how easily the plausible guess becomes an assumed fact, and, under the veil of probability, the forger and pedigree inventor ply their trade. Mr. Round's article on "Our English Hapsburgs" is an excellent example of destructive historical criticism. The Earls of Denbigh for two hundred and fifty years have claimed to be Counts of the Holy Roman Empire, and have borne arms accordingly; and the claim has been recognised by the English Crown. Mr. Round shows conclusively that this claim was never made by the family before the 17th century, though the Hapsburgh, from whom descent was claimed, was said to have come to England in the reign of Henry III., and he traces step by step the false genealogies and heraldry and documents by which the claim was set up and maintained. It is interesting to note that in the first patent of nobility, that for the barony, granted in 1620, it is recited that William Feilding was sprung from the ancient family of Willington, placed by Dugdale at Todenham, which family is found settled at Sandhurst, at least as far back as the 12th century, so that Gloucestershire rather than Switzerland is the original home of the Feildings. It will seem strange that the assumption of Hapsburgh descent was so easily accepted in England; but a somewhat similar case in the present day is that of the Irish Viscountcy of Valentia, which has been assumed and is borne, though the bearer has never proved his right to it, and therefore cannot vote at an election of Irish representative Peers. It is certainly an anomaly that it should be possible to claim and enjoy the high dignity of a Peerage without establishing a right to it. But Mr. Round's book is very far from being entirely destructive; an excellent piece of constructive work is the article on "The Family of Ballon." One of the greatest difficulties of the Gloucestershire *Domesday* is to trace the way in which lands, which in 1086 belonged to Turstin, son of Rolf, had passed eighty years later through Winebald de Ballon to Henry de Newmarch; even Mr. Ellis's excellent paper in our *Transactions* is not helpful here Mr. Round shows clearly that there was no direct connection between Turstin and the family of Ballon, but that two brothers, Hamelin and Winebald de Ballon, were brought over by William Rufus, and that Winebald was provided for out of Turstin's lands. He shows further that Winebald had at least two sons, Roger and Milo, and a daughter who, marrying a member of the Newmarch family, became the mother of Henry de

Newmarch. But the interest of the paper does not stop here, for it is shown that Emmeline, heiress of Hamelin de Ballon, married Reginald, son of Roger, Earl of Hereford, who forfeited his estates on account of his rebellion in 1074. Mr. Round has not a high opinion, either of the knowledge of history or of faithfulness to the rules of heraldry, displayed by the officers of the Herald's College, and he seems to show that those guardians of purity of descent and accuracy of marshalling arms need very careful watching. Especially he blames them for granting to modern applicants the arms of an ancient house of the same family name, but from which no descent can be traced, with but a slight difference. It is difficult to imagine a more misleading practice, but it seems to have been not an uncommon one. The book is written with a very definite purpose—that of exposing fraudulent pedigrees and false heraldry. The writer is equipped for his task with ample learning, a keen desire for truth and accuracy, and a power of arranging his arguments systematically and stating his points clearly; and though, of course, with regard to so purely an artificial system as heraldry, much of what is said is technical, it will be found to be both readable and interesting by all who care for family history. Indeed, for all who are engaged in historical research it is a most instructive book, as showing the existence of snares into which the unwary might easily fall. It will do good service by fostering a spirit of healthy criticism, and by showing with how little wisdom the world of things heraldic and genealogical has been governed.

HISTORY OF THE COMMONWEALTH AND THE PROTECTORATE. 1649—1660. VOL. III. S. R. GARDINER, D.C.L. Longmans. 1901.

THIS third Volume of Dr. Gardiner's great work extends from May, 1654, to November, 1656. It begins with the assembling of Cromwell's first Parliament, and it is interesting to observe the care which was taken that the voice of the people should echo that of the Government; the representation of the Boroughs, of which the smaller were under the influence of neighbouring landowners, was reduced to one-third of its former amount, while the representation of the Counties was increased threefold. But, on the other hand, while the franchise of the Boroughs was but little interfered with, the forty-shilling freeholder disappeared from the Counties, and only those might vote who possessed property to the value of £200. But, in spite of this, and of the fact that of the Sixty Members allotted to Scotland and Ireland, a large proportion were Government supporters, many supporters of the Goverment were rejected, some Republicans had been returned, and from some districts—especially in the West—Royalists were sent up. And so it came to pass

that when after a year and a half Parliament claimed to exercise a joint control over the Militia the Protector dissolved it. There could not be two masters in England. A period of trouble and disturbance followed, marked by abortive gatherings in Northumberland, Yorkshire, and Nottingham, a futile attempt on Shrewsbury, and a really serious rising under Colonel Penruddock at Salisbury. There was, too, at least one plot to murder the Protector. The result was that a system of military occupation of England was set up; the country was divided into ten districts, each under a Major-General, to strengthen, not to supersede, the local authority, the effect being, of course, to render it more easy to crush the Royalists. The district in which Bristol lay consisted of Gloucestershire, Wiltshire, and the South-Western Counties, under Desborough; the only garrisons were at Weymouth and Portland, Exeter, Plymouth, Falmouth, and Scilly. It is evident, in fact, that the garrisons were intended to prevent interference from without, only five were not on salt water; indeed, the Royalists at home were to be disarmed by the Major-Generals.

The book gives a very vivid picture of the difficulties in which the Protector found himself, between the Army and the Parliament, the Royalist and the Puritan Divines. So far as religion was concerned, he seems to have been honestly desirous of toleration, often as a contrary course was pressed upon him; and so long as the ejected clergy remained unconnected with political movements, no action seems to have been taken against them by the Major-Generals. On the other hand, Dr. Gardiner is by no means so well satisfied with the Protector's management of the Settlement of Ireland; no doubt the circumstances were difficult, but he doubts whether Cromwell understood the conditions of the problem, and certainly, judged by the record of history, the results of his actions have not been satisfactory. Again, he thinks that Cromwell's foreign policy was mistaken and unsuccessful, owing in great part to his want of experience of the Continental modes of thought, and of the purposes of Continental statesmen. The case of the slaughtered Vaudois is best known in England on account of Milton's sonnet. The Vaudois were in the wrong because they had settled where they had no business to be, and had refused to retire; but there was no excuse for the cruelty with which they were treated. Cromwell indeed interfered on their behalf, but to no practical purpose. There is not much of specially local interest in the volume. A troop of horse was raised at Bristol for the suppression of Percival Locke's rising, and Major-General Desborough induced Aldermen Locke, Knight, and Sherman to resign in January, 1656. Admiral Penn appears as in joint command of an unfortunate expedition to the West Indies, where he left his fleet, and was committed to the Tower on his return till he resigned his commission. It is in no way necessary to

commend the book, but it may be added that among its many excellencies are a full and well-arranged index and some useful maps.

THE ALFRED JEWEL: An Historical Essay. By JOHN EARLE, LL.D., Professor of Anglo-Saxon in the University of Oxford. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 1901.

IT cannot be said that the flood of Alfredian literature that has been poured forth lately has brought with it much that is of real interest, or of permanent value. Professor Earle's book, however, stands forth as a work apart. Few perhaps of those who have looked with wonder and interest on the Jewel in its case in the Ashmolean Museum have been able to attach any definite meaning to it, or to form any idea of its place of origin, the nature of its workmanship, or the purpose which it was intended to fulfil. Professor Earle has lectured on the Jewel at intervals during the last half-century, and in this book he gives the conclusions at which he has arrived. In the first place, he is clear that it was made by order of the great King, and not by another of the same name, which was not uncommon, and he shows that the form of the inscription might very well date from his time. With regard to the purpose of the Jewel, it has been supposed to be an amulet, the top of a sceptre, the handle of a pointing stave, the top of a stylus, or a pendant to a collar of state. Professor Earle, however, thinks that it was an ornament fitted to be placed in front of a kingly helmet or coronet. And certainly the form of the Jewel is well adapted for this purpose. It consists of a half-length figure in enamel, covered by a plate of rock crystal, and at the back is an engraved plate of gold, with an inscription round the edge; at the base it tapers to a socket in the shape of a boar's head, which was evidently intended to be attached to some other object; the Jewel was clearly also meant to be erect and not suspended, as in the latter position the figure would be upside down. With regard to the suggested military purpose of the Jewel, much stress is laid on the boar's head, in which the base of the Jewel terminates, for the boar's head was a favourite ornament of the helmet. Several quotations are given from Beowulf to illustrate this point; but it seems strange that Dr. Earle does not also quote the passage in which Asser describes how Alfred led his forces "viriliter aprino more" against the Danes at Ashdown. With regard to the meaning of the figure, reference is made to a very similar figure holding two sceptres, represented in an illumination in the Book of Kells, which is evidently intended to represent the glorified Christ, and it is certainly strange that Dr. Earle should intrepret the figure on the Jewel as representing the Pope with the symbols of spiritual and temporal sovereignty. Considering that the Danish wars always appear in the Chronicles and Asser as struggles

of Christians against Pagans, the figure on the helmet would most fittingly and naturally represent the conquering and ruling Christ. It is thought that King Alfred buried the Jewel when he was hiding in Somerset, in the dark days before the Battle of Ethandun, and that it never saw the light again till its discovery in 1693. There are several beautiful illustrations, not only of the Alfred Jewel itself, but of other enamelled jewels of similar character that have been found in England, and an excellent map of the district round Athelney and Newton Park, where the Jewel was found. The book is published at the request of the Delegates of the Press, and it is in every way worthy of the Author, of the University in which he has been so long a Professor, of the Clarendon Press from which it issues, and of its subject.

In Memoriam.

CANON BOURNE.

The Rev. George Drinkwater Bourne was the youngest son of Peter Bourne, Esq., and brother of Sir James Bourne, who was for many years M.P. for Evesham. He was educated at Eton and Oriel, and graduated B.A. in 1844, M.A. in 1846. When at Oxford he rowed number five in the "seven-oar" boat, which gained the famous victory over Cambridge in 1843. In 1897 four of the "seven," including Canon Bourne, put in appearance at the commemorative dinner given by old Blues to the four "Blue" judges (Lords Esher and Macnaghten, and Lords Justices Smith and Chitty). It was owing to a sudden illness contracted by their stroke (Fletcher Menzies), just previous to the race, that Oxford were compelled to row a man short. Cambridge demurred to any substitute, so number seven went stroke of the Oxford boat, bow took his place and left his own seat vacant, and the Dark Blue crew went down with seven oars to the start against their enemies. Within a quarter of a mile it was seen that Oxford would hold her own. At the finish the "seven-oar" won by a length, amid a scene of greater excitement than had ever been known at Henley. Alderman Randall bought the good ship when she came home, the chair made from her timbers is in the Oxford University Barge to this day, round it are the blades of the seven oars that won the famous victory, and it serves as the seat of the President of the University Boat Club. As the story of this contest is now ancient history, it fitly finds a place in our Transactions. It must be remembered, however, that the crews did not represent the Universities, and the contest finds no place in the records of the University Boat Race.

Canon Bourne was ordained deacon in 1845, and priest in 1846, and appointed rector of Weston Subedge in the same year. He

had been Rural Dean of Campden since 1875, and was appointed Honorary Canon of Gloucester Cathedral in 1880. Canon Bourne was a J.P. and D.L. for Gloucestershire—he was one of the oldest magistrates in the county, having been appointed on the Commission of the Peace at the Epiphany Sessions in 1849—and had been a member of the County Council since its formation. He was also a magistrate for Worcestershire. For more than seventeen years he had been Chairman of the Evesham Board of Guardians, of which he had been a member for nearly forty-five years. Canon Bourne was a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries; on the formation of our Society he became Local Secretary of the Chipping Campden District; he continued to serve as a member of the Council till his death, and he had begun to take an active interest in the arrangements for the Annual Meeting of 1901, at Campden. In 1884 he acted as President of the Society at the Annual Meeting at Evesham, and delivered a most useful address on the history of the district. He spent a long life in the service of his neighbours, and there were perhaps few men more highly respected in the county and diocese. He passed away, after a very short illness, on January 31st, 1901.

REV. E. A. FULLER.

The Rev. Ernest Adolphus Fuller was born in Piccadilly, on May 23rd, 1831, and probably the childhood spent in that busy thoroughfare had much to do with forming the habits of quickness in thought and speech, and the wide range of his interests, which were characteristic of his later life. He went to Rugby in February, 1842, the last half-year of Dr. Arnold's rule, and left it high in the Sixth, and a member of the School Eleven. At Cambridge he was entered at Emmanuel College, and on a chance vacancy he played against Oxford at Lord's. He was ordained in 1854 to the Curacy of Cirencester, which was at that time, under Canon Powell, a famous school of curates; after serving there for two years he held the curacy of the little Cotswold village of Colesbourne for eight

years, and then, after six more years at Cirencester, he came to St. Barnabas. His work lay before him. It was the time of Mr. Forster's Education Act; the new vicar set his hand to the duty which lay nearest to him, and collected money to build the schools. And probably St. Barnabas' Schools, excellent now as always, are the work by which he would best wish to be remembered. He was, however, probably better known in the city as the vicar under whom St. Agnes' Church, and the institutions connected with it, came into being. In 1875 it was resolved by the present Bishop of Hereford, and those working with him, to maintain a mission in connection with Clifton College; it was thought that they would work happily with Mr. Fuller, and he with them, and St. Barnabas' parish, with its waste and swamp, and its rapidly-growing population of 7,000 souls, became the scene of the mission work, first under Canon Rawnsley, then under Mr. Murchison and Mr. Harvey, until St. Agnes' Church was consecrated in 1883. A devoted parish priest, Mr. Fuller's services during the disastrous floods which visited his parish, and on various relief committees, are not likely to be forgotton. He resigned his living in 1890. Politically, Mr. Fuller was a Liberal, and it was a real help to the Church in Bristol during the Disestablisment agitation in 1885 that there was among the parochial clergy a man of Mr. Fuller's political principles, who was at the same time highly respected as an earnest parish priest in a very poor parish, and who, possessing a thorough knowledge of the question in its historical aspects, was honestly opposed to Disestablishment Mr. Fuller's services were hardly fully appreciated—Church history is fashionable now, at that time few people knew really much about it, and Mr. Fuller was one of the few.

Not many members of our Society have been so closely connected with its work from the beginning as Mr. Fuller. He was present at the Inaugural Meeting of the Society on April 22nd, 1876, and, within less than three weeks of his death, he wrote a long letter with regard to a paper which he proposed to contribute to our Transactions. His first paper, in the earliest volume of our

Transactions, was on the "Aid against the Turks in 1544;" his last paper, in Volume XXII., was on the "Pleas of the Crown at Bristol in 1287;" but his best work, and from an antiquarian point of view the chief work of his life, is contained in the thirteen papers on the "History of Cirencester" which he wrote for us. Few people indeed in the county can have known the history of a place so thoroughly well as he knew the history of the Abbey and Town of Cirencester. And when it is remembered that two of the best of these papers, those on the tenure of lands in Cirencester, and on the Manor and Town, were written while he was doing most devoted work in a very poor and rapidly increasing parish in Bristol, it will be seen that, in his case at any rate, the strong tendency which unhappily exists at the present day to confine the work of the Clergy to a strictly professional groove had no place; the really great work which he accomplished at St. Barnabas was certainly in no way hindered by the most valuable work which he did for Cirencester. He died on Easter Monday, 1901, and was buried at Carlisle, where he had lived after his resignation of St. Barnabas.

JOHN REYNOLDS.

Mr. John Reynolds may fairly be reckoned among the founders of our Society, for on its formation there was assigned to him the very responsible office of Local Secretary for Bristol. At that time he took a very prominent place among those who were interested in Archæological matters in the city, and the excursions which he organised in the district and even abroad were very well managed and most interesting, and it was in a measure out of them that the work of the Clifton Antiquarian Club grew up. It is likely that several of those who now belong to the Society acquired their first liking for Archæology, and had their earliest opportunity of systematic study, under the guidance of Mr. Reynolds. He passed away quite suddenly on the evening of August 24th, at the age of sixty-five.

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